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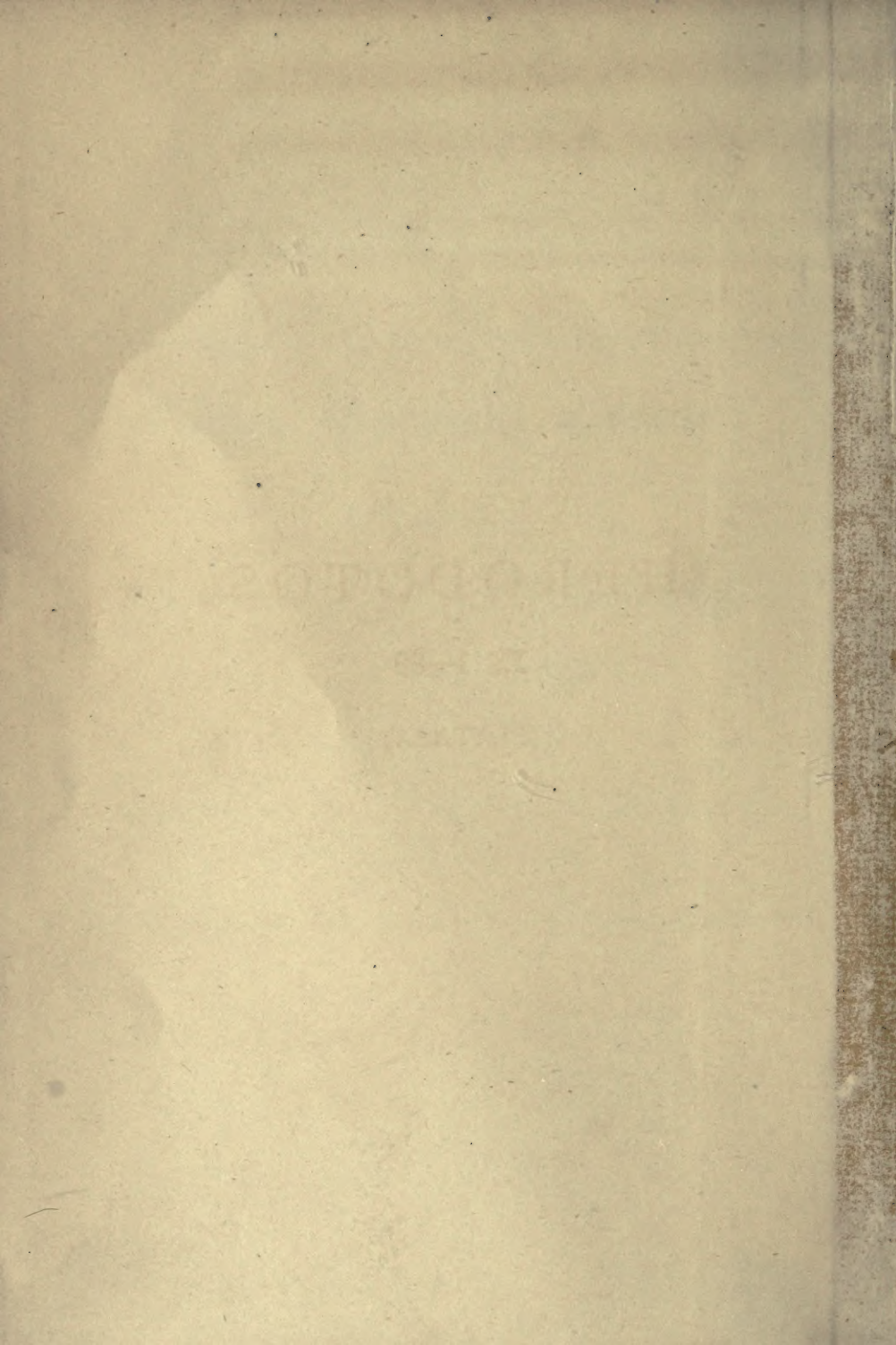
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# HERODOTOS

IX 1—89

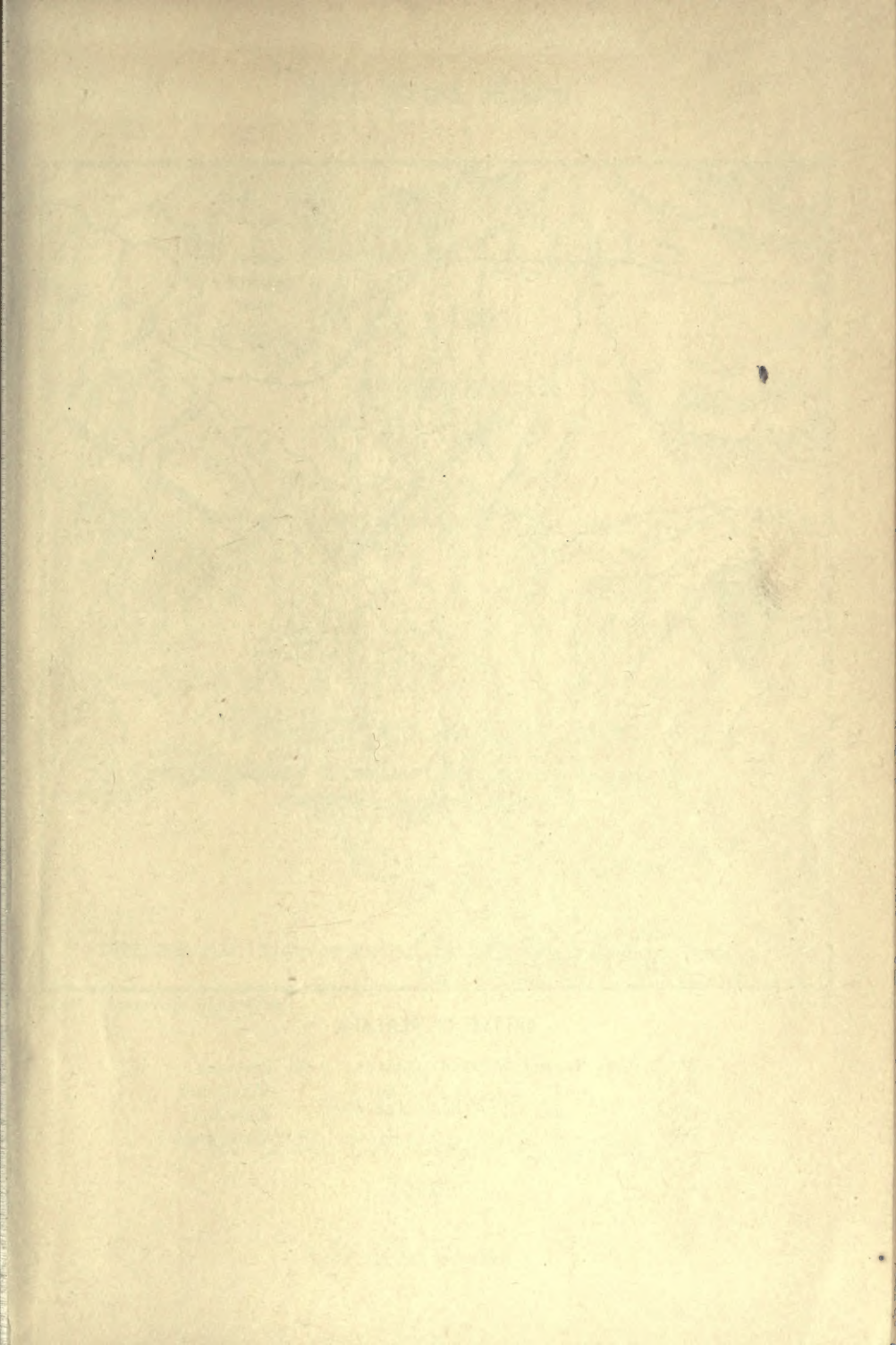
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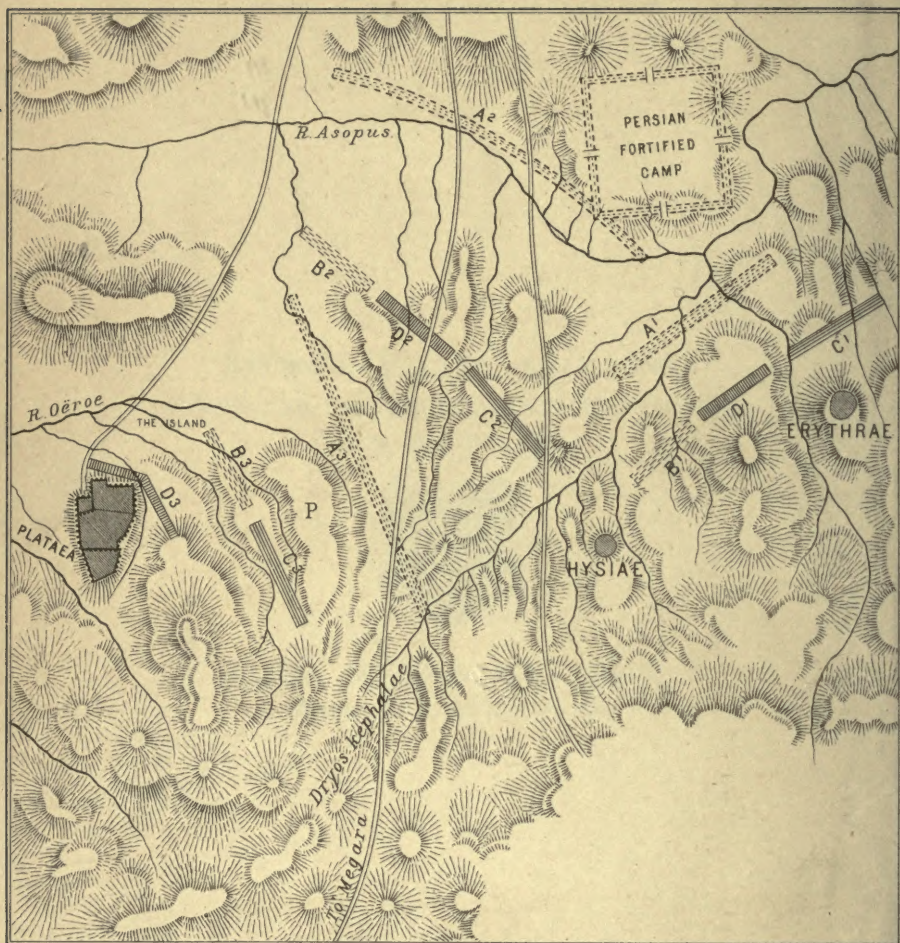
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Book IX.

# BATTLE OF PLATAEA.

Cambridge University Press.

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| A <sup>1</sup> 2 3 | First            | Second, | & Third | positions of the | Persians.     |
| B <sup>1</sup> 2 3 | do.              |         | do.     |                  | Athenians.    |
| C <sup>1</sup> 2 3 | do.              |         | do.     |                  | Spartans.     |
| D <sup>1</sup> 2 3 | do.              |         | do.     |                  | Other Greeks. |
| P.                 | field of battle. |         |         |                  |               |



 Pitt Press Series

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# HERODOTOS

IX 1—89  
(PLATAEA)

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

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*EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS*

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## PREFACE.

THE chapters of Herodotos contained in this book embrace the history of the Persian invasion of Greece from the Spring of B.C. 489 to the final repulse of that invasion at Plataea. This forms an episode in the great struggle sufficiently complete in itself to be read separately with full interest, either for the sake of its story or as an introduction to the language and manner of Herodotos. My aim has been to enable any one using my book to find in it all reasonable help in both these respects. Much of historical explanation and observation which is usually found in notes has been put together in the 'Historical and Geographical Index,' the design of which has been especially to bring before the reader the circumstances of the time, the mutual relations of the various states of Greece, some indication of the origin of those relations, and the influence and aims of the leading personages engaged.

Though only a very few notes on the more important variations in the text have been appended, yet the text

itself has been carefully revised by the help of the *apparatus criticus* in Dr Stein's earlier critical edition. The explanatory notes also owe much to those of the same editor (1882), and to those of Dr Abicht. To the latter scholar especially belongs the greater part of the 'Appendix on the Ionic dialect', which with slight additions is the same as that already printed in my edition of the eighth book. Other editions have also been consulted, among which I may mention the notes in Rawlinson's translation, which have always the merit of being full of learning and independent criticism on points of antiquities and history.

CAMBRIDGE, 1887.



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## INTRODUCTION.

WHEN evening fell upon the strait of Salamis at the end of that September day the Greek sailors mustered their ships on the coast of the island, and busied themselves with collecting the wrecks of their own forty disabled vessels, as well as such of the Persian fleet as were within reach. The last blows at the enemy had been struck by the Æginetan squadron which was stationed at the entrance of the channel [8, 91]; and by Aristides, who had landed on the small island of Psyttaleia with some Athenian hoplites and put the Persian troops occupying it to the sword [8, 95].

*Battle of Salamis, Sept. B.C. 480.*

The Greeks scarcely understood the greatness of the victory they had achieved. The Persian army was still intact, and in occupation of Athens and the coast of Attica; their fleet had lost only between two or three hundred out of a total of 1200 ships; and the Greeks, remembering perhaps the three days of alternate success and failure at Artemisium, looked for a renewal of the engagement on the following morning [8, 96]. But though they had not annihilated the Persian forces, they had done what in the circumstances was quite as important,—they had thoroughly frightened Xerxes.

That 'handsomest man in the Persian army' was also one of the greatest cowards in it. He now pictured to himself the total destruction of his ships by the Greek fleet, which would then sail to the Hellespont and break the bridge of boats; and when that was done, he would be caught in Europe, unable to make his way into Asia, and be dependent for his life upon the victory of his land army, of which events had begun to fill him with profound distrust. He however for a time concealed his feelings from his Court: although they did not escape the eye of Mardonius who had been long used to watch and understand the humours of his master. The king at first pretended to press on the construction of a mole across to Salamis, which had apparently been commenced even before the battle, and to order a kind of a bridge to be formed by linking some Phoenikian vessels together [8, 97]. But in the council held after the battle he quickly resolved to accept the advice offered by Mardonius and Artemisia, which was conceived in the sense in which they knew that Xerxes had resolved to act, and supported by arguments intended to justify the king to himself and to save appearances. Mardonius argued that the fate of their expedition depended on their brave Persian troops, who had never been beaten, and was not affected by the loss of cowardly Phoenikians, Egyptians, and the like: that the king had better, having attained his object in taking Athens, return home, but leave these unconquered troops to wreak a safe and certain vengeance on the Peloponnese. This was supported by Queen Artemisia, who reminded the king also that he had already attained the aim of his expedition by burning Athens; and that the highest object on earth, the king's safety, should now be secured by his return,



while Mardonius should be left to fight the enemy: his success would be the king's as being that of his own slave, and his failure would be but a poor triumph for the Greeks (8, 100—102). His fears and his vanity being thus at once satisfied, Xerxes sent immediate orders to his fleet, which had sought refuge at Phalerum, to land the best of the troops that were on board and to depart forthwith for the Hellespont. He himself was to move with his whole army out of Attica; and leaving 300,000 of the best troops to winter in Northern Greece, was to be guarded by the rest on his journey home; while Queen Artemisia took charge of such of his children as were with him, and conducted them by sea to Ephesos [8, 107].

The order to the fleet was immediately obeyed: and in the night which followed the council the Persian ships left their anchorage at Phalerum and sailed away for the Hellespont. This movement was not known to the Greek fleet until the middle of the next day; but when news of it was brought to them they at once determined to start in pursuit. The Persian fleet however had had too long a start of them; and when the Greeks got as far as the island of Andros, from which an uninterrupted view to the north could be obtained, without sighting the enemy, they gave up the pursuit as hopeless, and decided in council to return. Although Themistokles had been urgent that they should proceed to the Hellespont to break down the bridge, he gave in to the feeling of the majority, who agreed with Eurybiades that it was better to let the Barbarians get out of Europe by any means; and finding that he was overruled, took measures to secure the favour of the king by representing that the very measure which he had opposed was

taken by his instigation. For this season the Greek fleet did nothing more, except that under the influence of Themistokles they exacted from several islanders who had medized various sums of money, either as a composition for that offence, or as a contribution to the common defence [8, 108—112].

Meanwhile on land the preparations for the departure of the king and his army were pushed on; and not many days had elapsed after the battle when the start took place. The whole army accompanied the king through Boeotia and into Thessaly. There the choice of the 300,000 who were to remain with Mardonius was made, among which were all the 'Immortals' and the best men of the whole army. Of these, sixty thousand, under the command of Artabazus, escorted the king as far as the place at which he took ship, and then returned towards Greece: while Mardonius put the remainder of his army into winter quarters in Thessaly and Makedonia [8, 113].

The march of the retreating army had been disastrous. The country through which they were marching had been too lately pillaged to supply sufficient food, and the men were reduced at times to feed on grass, leaves, and the bark of trees. As a natural consequence disease, and especially dysentery, attacked the troops; and but a poor remnant accompanied Xerxes when after a march of forty-nine days he reached Sestos, to find the bridge broken by a storm, but his fleet ready to transport him across to Asia. As many more perished from the effects of a sudden change to plenty when they arrived at Abydos; and with these survivors from his grand army Xerxes at length reached Sardis [8, 115, 117].

Artabazus started on his return towards the army of



Mardonius when he had seen the king safely embarked. But instead of spending the winter in the same quarters as the rest, he employed it in endeavouring to punish the people of Potidaea who had just renounced their allegiance to the king. The town of Potidaea stood on the narrowest part of the peninsula of Pallene, and was strongly defended on the north by a wall stretching across the narrow neck of land, and on two sides by the sea. Artabazus first took the neighbouring town of Olynthos, and put its inhabitants to the sword, and then proceeded to lay regular siege to Potidaea. But in spite of all that he could do, and in spite of attempted treason from within, at the end of three months the town was still untaken. The harbour, which is now a marsh, was at that time formed and defended by a mole running out into the sea: and the barbarians, after their three months weary siege, were encouraged by an extraordinary low tide to endeavour to get round the end of this mole, and so make their way into the town. But when the van of the army was somewhat more than half-way across, the returning tide overtook them, and those who were not drowned at once were killed by the Potidaeans who put out in boats to attack them. As many as twenty thousand appear to have perished: and Artabazus with the remainder marched away to join Mardonius in Thessaly [8, 127—129].

Meanwhile the Persian fleet, after conducting the king to Abydos, had taken up its station for the winter at Kyme and Samos. At the approach of spring they mustered at Samos, and under the command of Mardontes kept a watch upon Ionia, which was known to be ready again to break

*Artabazus takes Olynthos and besieges Potidaea in the winter months of B.C. 480—479.*

*The Persian fleet winters at Kyme and Samos.*

out into revolt. The number of the ships of war forming this fleet was 300; and though they did not venture to make another descent upon Greece they believed that they were safe from attack themselves, and that Mardonius was entirely certain of subduing Greece with his land forces [8, 130].

By the Greeks the approach of spring was felt to be a season of renewed labour and peril. Mardonius was in Thessaly, ready once <sup>Spring B.C. 479.</sup> *The Greek fleet go to Delos.* more to descend upon Athens, where the inhabitants had partially returned to their homes: and no one knew whether the Persian fleet at Samos was preparing to make another attack or no. At any rate it behoved them to be on the alert. One hundred and ten triremes assembled early at Aegina under the command of the Spartan king Leotychides; and while there they received a deputation of commissioners from the Ionian cities, who had managed to run the Persian blockade, begging for help towards the recovery of their freedom. The fleet thereupon proceeded to Delos, but did not venture farther: "all beyond that seemed to the "Greeks full of danger: the places were quite unknown "to them, and to their fancy swarmed with Persian "troops: as for Samos it appeared to them as far off as "the Pillars of Hercules" [8, 132]. So novel was the idea, soon afterwards a commonplace of Greek politics, that a Greek fleet should be able to command the Aegean.

This, then, is the situation in the spring of 479. The Persian fleet watching Ionia from Samos; the Greek fleet at Delos. Mardonius in Thessaly on the point of breaking up his winter quarters and marching for Attica, and no Greek army as yet assembled.



But the object of Mardonius was now not the occupation of Athens, which he felt was a matter of no difficulty, but to penetrate *Mardonius negotiates with the Athenians.* into the Peloponnese and subdue the one part of Greece which had as yet never known the presence of the Persian enemy. To do this he was willing if possible to have the Athenians as coadjutors, or at least as neutral spectators. He had learnt that they were dangerous enemies at sea, and an alliance with them he imagined would make him irresistible. He therefore selected as his envoy Alexander of Makedonia, who, while he had Persian connexions, was also known at Athens as a 'benefactor' and 'proxenus'. The desirability of such an arrangement was obvious; but it was also said to have been recommended to Mardonius by the oracles of Apollo Ptôus in Boeotia, and of Abae in Phokis, and of Trophonios at Lebedeia, and others, which he had caused to be consulted. Oracles were apt to take in politics the view which commended itself to practical statesmen who were in the ascendant. And as the Boeotians and Phokians were determined medizers the answers of these oracles may be easily understood, and at any rate they contained sound advice [8, 136].

The mission of Alexander however was unsuccessful. He seems not only to have delivered a formal message from Mardonius, but to have given confidential advice that the proposal should be accepted<sup>1</sup>. It was no doubt a tempting one. The Athenians were not only to recover

<sup>1</sup> This is not inconsistent with his conduct described in cc. 44—46. At this time he seems really to have looked upon Mardonius as irresistible; the experience of three or four months campaign must have taught him the fallacy of this opinion, and convinced him that Greece might now be saved, and himself liberated, by vigorous action.

their territory but to have such additional lands as they chose, and to retain their independence: and the Persians were to restore the temples that had been ruined. The one condition attached was that they were to make an alliance with the king. But this condition meant that they should help him to enslave the rest of Greece; and this was a condition which they were resolved never to accept. Their loyalty however was not fully relied upon by Sparta. No sooner was the intended mission of Alexander known there, than the Spartans hurriedly despatched envoys to counteract the impression that he seemed likely to make. The Athenians had expected such a measure, and had purposely delayed giving audience to Alexander for a few days until these Spartan envoys arrived, in order that both might appear together. Their object doubtless was to impress upon the Spartans the strong position in which such an offer placed Athens, and the suicidal folly of Sparta if she allowed any light causes to induce her to loiter, as she had done before, in the despatch of the necessary forces to resist the threatened invasion of Attica by Mardonius. The speech put into the mouth of the Spartan envoy by Herodotos (8, 142) is not very conciliatory towards Athens,—although the Spartans offered sustenance for their families during the war,—nor free from the charge of rather gross anachronisms. But the general statement of fact may be accepted, that the Athenians resolutely refused the offer, and determined to resist the Barbarian, if not on land, then at sea. At the same time they urged the Spartans to lose no time in collecting the forces of the Peloponnese, and marching out to meet Mardonius in Boeotia.

It is the failure of this negotiation which brings us to the point at which the Ninth Book of Herodotos opens.

No sooner was the rejection of his offer announced to Mardonius than he broke up his camp in Thessaly and marched south; and refusing to accept the advice of the Thebans to stay in Boeotia to meet the coming Greek army, made straight for Athens (cc. 1—2). The Athenians once more quitted their town and took refuge in Salamis; and Mardonius, after one more fruitless attempt at negotiation with them there, had to content himself with the occupation of an empty town (cc. 3—5). Meanwhile the Spartans had been acting with their usual dilatoriness if not with actual treachery. They felt comparatively safe now: for the wall which they had been building across the Isthmus of Korinth was nearly complete, and they believed that they were thus secure against immediate attack; while they did not feel much compunction at allowing the Athenians once more to depend upon their fleet and the hospitality of neighbouring towns. It was already late June, or July, and yet no force had been despatched, and the envoys from Athens sent to urge them to action, found them busily engaged with the feast of the Hyakinthia, and could get no answer for ten days from the Ephors. The Spartan troops however were slowly getting ready, and just when the Athenian envoys in despair were preparing to depart, with threats that the Athenians would consult for their own safety by coming to terms with Mardonius, the advanced guard started for the Isthmus. This step is represented by Herodotos as having been taken at the instigation of Chileos of Tegea, who pointed out that if the Athenian fleet joined the Persian, the wall across the Isthmus would at once lose all value as a defence for the Peloponnese. Whether this was so or not, this obvious

*Mardonius leaves his winter quarters and marches into Attica.*



consideration no doubt had its influence; and indeed the Spartans, without being intentionally treasonable to the Hellenic cause, may have thought that a hasty movement was unadvisable. Attica was in the hands of Mardonius, and a few weeks more or less would make little difference to the Athenians: while every day that Mardonius was kept there diminished his command of supplies, strengthened the resolution of the loyally inclined on his rear, and enabled them to collect larger forces from the States in the Peloponnese, who could not be reckoned on for prompt or rapid measures (cc. 6—11). Information was quickly sent to Mardonius of the movement of the Spartan troops; and it determined him at once to quit Attica. He had hoped to make his way into the Peloponnese. But Attica itself was by no means a favourable field for the decisive battle: there was no plain sufficient for the proper employment of his cavalry, and he had no certainty of supplies, and no easy means of retreat in case of defeat. He therefore started for Boeotia, after burning and dismantling as much of Athens as was possible in the time. But on his way he was told that there were only a thousand men arrived from the Peloponnese, and hoping to crush these at least, he turned and advanced to the Megarid, wasting the country as he went: but on entering the Megarid he learnt that these thousand men were only an advanced guard of a large army which was now collected in the Isthmus; he therefore resumed his original plan and marched by Dekelea towards Boeotia. At Dekelea he was met by guides sent by the Boeotarchs, who led him across the frontier at Sphendale to Tanagra, thus avoiding the better known but longer route by Oropos (cc. 12—15).

Thus arrived in the valley of the Asopos, he encamped

his army on both sides the river, and set about forming a large fortified enclosure, to secure his baggage and to be a place of retreat in a time of difficulty. Here he was in the midst of friends, and not far from the city of Thebes, which was not only strongly on the side of the Persians, but was also well fortified and capable of being defended in case of need. Another advantage of this position was that the medizing states of North Greece immediately sent their contingents to his army; and he soon had not only a formidable position, defended when he chose by the Asopos, but a considerable force of Greeks cooperating with his own troops [cc. 16—18]. These operations must have occupied a great part of the month of August. And meanwhile the Greek army had gradually got itself together and was at Eleusis, which was the natural starting place for crossing Kithaeron from Attica into Boeotia by the pass of Dryoskephalae, and where they were joined by the Athenian contingent from Salamis under Aristeides. When they had made the pass, they did not venture to descend into the valley for fear of the Persian cavalry; but kept on the high ground round Erythrae, and refused to be provoked to descend by the constant skirmishing attacks of this force (cc. 19—21); and though encouraged by a rather marked success in one of these skirmishes (cc. 22—24), they determined to edge off along the hills nearer Plataea, principally for the sake of a better supply of water. They were now stationed near a fountain of good water (Gargaphia), on comparatively level ground, nearly opposite the main line of Mardonius' army, from which they were separated by the Asopos (c. 25).

*Mardonius in Boeotia. August —Sept., B.C. 479.*

*The Greeks follow.*

*First position of the Greek army.*

*Second position of the Greek army.*

In this position it seemed inevitable that a general battle must shortly ensue. But neither side would begin: the victims gave unfavourable omens, and for eight days the two armies faced each other, and nothing took place except desultory skirmishing. But these eight days had been unfavourable to the Greeks. The Persian cavalry daily crossed the river and annoyed them; and worse still, cut off their convoys of provisions, and prevented fresh troops from coming to join them from the south over Kithaeron (cc. 38—40).

Wearied out with delay Mardonius at length, on the eleventh day, determined to hazard a battle the next morning in spite of omens. At the risk of his life Alexander of Makedonia rode up to the Athenian lines after dark on that evening, and warned the Greek generals of the intended attack. When the twelfth day came however, it was occupied by some changes and counter changes in both armies, and a somewhat more determined assault by the Persian horse, in which they succeeded in entirely destroying the fountain Gargaphia for use, from which the Greeks drew their supply of water. Henceforth they would only be able to get water under the fire of the Persian cavalry's arrows and javelins (c. 49).

After consultation therefore the Greek commanders resolved to shift their position once more to a place called the Island, about a mile nearer Plataea, which got its name from being almost enclosed by two mountain streams running into the Oeroe. The movement was to be effected simultaneously in the night; but it led practically to the dismemberment of the Greek army. In the first place all the

*Eight days in-  
action.*

*Ninth, tenth  
and eleventh  
days.*

*Twelfth day.*

*Night of the  
twelfth day.  
Third position of  
the Greek army.*



allies, except the Lakedaemonians, Aegeans and Athenians, had been so terrified by the severer attacks of the Persian cavalry, that instead of only marching to the spot assigned, they fled as fast as they could, and did not stop until they reached the Heraeum outside Plataea (c. 52). Again, there being two routes from their present to the new position,—one along the plain on a level with the road from Plataea to Thebes, and another more to the east over high ground,—the Lakedaemonians were to take the latter, and the Athenians the former, starting at the same time and meeting at the Island. But the obstinacy of one Spartan captain prevented for some hours the start of the Peloponnesians, and inspired so much distrust in the minds of the Athenians, that they did not start either. When this difficulty was at length got over, both the Athenians and Peloponnesians started too late to arrive at their destination before daybreak (c. 53).

*Thirteenth day.*

And consequently when the Persian cavalry crossed the Asopos as usual, though they found the Greek position evacuated, they could also see the Spartan line crossing the elevated ground on their way to the Island. The Athenians indeed were not in view, for they had gone along the lower ground; but the Lakedaemonians had not only taken the hill route, but they had been delayed again by having to wait for the insubordinate Amompharetos. The Persian cavalry accordingly at once went in pursuit of the Lakedaemonians and Tegeans (cc. 56, 57). Upon learning the state of the case Mardonius at once ordered a general advance, and came up with the Lakedaemonians and Tegeans, close to a lonely temple of Demeter, about a mile to the east of Plataea (c. 59).

Pausanias the Spartan commander seeing the enemy

approaching, sent hastily to implore the Athenians to make every effort to join him. But they were prevented from doing so by finding themselves engaged with the Greek contingent of the Persian army, who kept them at play for almost as long as the Lakedaemonians were engaged with the Persians [cc. 60, 61].

The Lakedaemonians and Tegeans were therefore left to face the enemy by themselves. And *The battle.* thus brought to bay, they justified the reputation which they enjoyed in Greece. For some time the omens continued unsatisfactory, and the Lakedaemonians did not venture to charge; and meanwhile the Persians, fixing their long wicker shields in the ground, poured in volleys of arrows from behind this extemporary fortification. It is difficult for us to enter into the feelings which at last prompted the Greek attack. Pausanias is represented as lifting his eyes to the temple of Herè which he could see on the rising ground outside Plataea, and uttering a prayer to the Goddess. At that moment the omens suddenly became favourable; and without waiting for further orders, the Tegeans charged. Then the matter was a trial of strength and of superiority in arms and agility; and it was not long in being decided. The Persians made a valiant struggle until Mardonius fell; but when he was killed, with the flower of his army round him, the rout quickly became general. The panic-stricken crowd fled in the utmost disorder to the wooden enclosure and barricaded themselves there, leaving a large number of their best men on the field. The fugitives were protected in their retreat by their own cavalry and that of the Boeotians, and reached the fortified camp without much loss. Here they were quickly followed by the Spartans, who tried to storm the palisade with

their usual want of success in this kind of warfare [cc. 61—68].

Meanwhile the other Greeks, who had retreated to the Heraeum outside Plataea, got intelligence of the victory obtained over the enemy, and made all haste to join their successful comrades. The Corinthians kept on the high ground: and though they came too late to share the honour of the battle, they seemed to have arrived in safety at the site of it, and thence to have marched to the fortified camp. But the Megarians and Phliasians who went along the plain were cut to pieces by the Theban cavalry, who were keeping the road, and lost their lives without saving their honour [c. 69].

The Athenians by this time, after a severe engagement on the lower ground, had beaten the Boeotian infantry, which did not attempt to join the Persians in their camp of refuge, but fled along the road to Thebes [c. 67]. They now marched towards the Persian camp, which on their arrival quickly fell: and the miserable cowering crowd of orientals were slaughtered like sheep with hardly a show of resistance [c. 70].

The only portion of the Persian army which escaped in any numbers was the division of forty thousand led by Artabazus. That cautious commander seems to have felt certain of the result of the battle, and had therefore purposely loitered behind when Mardonius marched out of the camp on the fatal morning. Following him at some considerable interval, he was met by the first fugitives from the field. He promptly wheeled round, and without attempting to return to the camp, proceeded with all speed along the shortest road which led to the north; and by persuading the Thessalians and Macedonians that he was only leading an advanced guard of

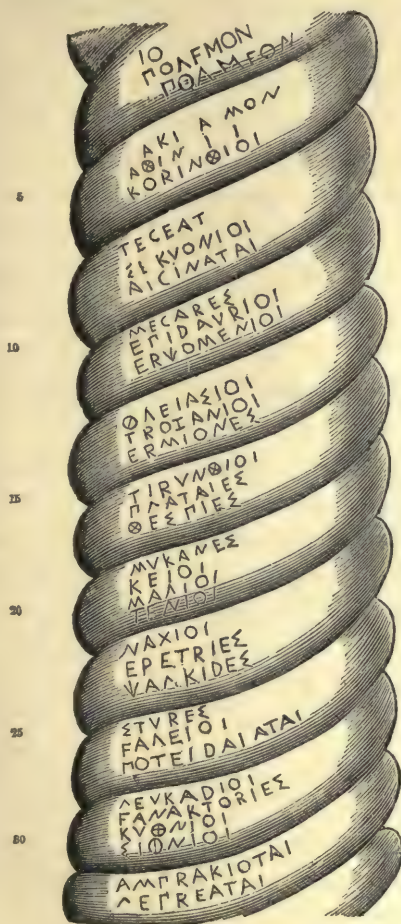


the main army, obtained a safe and honourable passage through their country: and though he lost large numbers of men on this forced march, both from disease and the assaults of the Thracian barbarians, he arrived in safety with the remainder at Byzantium, from which place he crossed in ships to Asia [cc. 66, 89].

Thus the Persian invasion was at end, and the grand army annihilated. The immediate effect of the battle was to restore the medizing part of Greece to the side of Hellenic loyalty; and nothing was left for the victorious army to do but to punish the disloyal Thebans, divide the spoil, and disperse. To none of the States engaged had the issue been more momentous than to the Athenians. By it the inhabitants of Athens were enabled once more to return to their homes, and set about restoring their ruined walls in safety: one harvest had been lost, and most of the vines destroyed by the enemy; but no doubt here and there would be vineyards not wholly unfruitful; and at any rate it was time for the rural population of Attica to be busied on the preparations for the next year. The security obtained for them by this victory was confirmed by the defeat of the Persian fleet at Mycale, fought late on the same day as that at Plataea. Henceforth the fear of invasion is removed from Greece, and the Greeks assume the offensive: enforcing the freedom of the Ionian cities and islands, and keeping the Aegean as a Greek sea.

One monument of this famous battle remains in a mutilated condition to our day. It is the stand of three brazen serpents, on which stood the tripod of gold, dedicated by the victorious states to the God at Delphi. The three heads formed the resting places of the three legs of the tripod, and the names of the States engaged

*The stand of three brazen serpents on which the golden tripod stood at Delphi. Now in the hippodrome at Constantinople.*



ΙΟ [τοῖδε τὸν ?]  
 πόλεμον  
 ἐπολέμεον  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 Ἀθηναῖοι  
 Κορίνθιοι  
 Τεγεᾶται  
 Σικυνώνιοι  
 Αἰγινᾶται  
 Μεγαρῆς  
 Ἐπιδαύριοι  
 Ἐρχόμενοι  
 Φλειάσιοι  
 Τροιζάνιοι  
 Ἑρμιονῆς  
 Τιρύνθιοι  
 Πλαταιῆς  
 Θεσπιῆς  
 Μυκανῆς  
 Κεῖοι  
 Μάλιοι  
 Τήνιοι  
 Νάξιοι  
 Ἑρετριῆς  
 Χαλκιδῆς  
 Στυρῆς  
 Φαλείοι [Ἡλείοι]  
 Ποτειδαῖαται  
 Λευκάδιοι  
 Φανακτοριῆς [Ἀνακτοριῆς]  
 Κύθνιοι  
 Σίφνιοι  
 Ἀμπρακιώται  
 Αεπρεᾶται

[See c. 81, and note on p. 51, l. 9, where the list copied from the statue at Olympia by Pausanias is given. Pausanias [5, 23, 1] also saw and copied the names on this column but omitted four,—Thespians, Eretrians, Leukadians, Siphnians.]

were engraved upon its coils. The gold tripod was removed by the Phokians during the sacred war (B.C. 357—346) but the stand remained, until it was removed by Constantine to the Hippodrome in his new city founded on the site of the ancient Byzantium. There it has remained, much damaged by neglect and even violence, and its inscription can still be read. The highest coil shows marks of having been filed down; and on that it is believed was the vainglorious inscription of Pausanias, which the Spartans caused to be erased [Thucyd. I, 132]. The three heads of the serpents have been broken off, but one of them was discovered in a broken state in 1848, and is now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople. A full description of this ancient monument, with a collection of ancient and modern references to and accounts of it, will be found in *Inscriptiones Graecae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas* by Hermann Roehl, Berlin, 1882; and a still more correct reading of the inscription is given by Dr Fabricius, from a recent examination, in the *Jahrbuch des k. deutschen Arch. Instituts*, 1886, I, p. 176.



## NOTES ON THE TEXT.

p. 1, l. 12. **καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ.** Cobet would omit these words as superfluous.

p. 1, l. 15. **καταστρέψεται.** The MSS. have **καταστρέψηται.** But the former has been conclusively proved to be right; cf. 1, 8, 9; 3, 36, 135; 5, 109; 7, 181; 9, 91.

p. 3, ll. 9, 12. **Λυκίδην** the variation of **Λυκίδα** is so frequent, that it seems probable that there was some variation in usage; or perhaps the scribes were misled by the false analogy of such names as **Ἑρτάσπης** (3rd decl.).

p. 4, l. 22. **ἔόν** is absent from some of the best MSS., but, as Baehr shows, **τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων** is a substantive: see 1, 159; 7, 101.

p. 7, l. 24. **ἴσχειν.** The best MSS. have **ἔχειν.** Still I agree with Baehr in retaining **ἴσχειν.** cf. c. 13, and 3, 111.

p. 8, l. 16. **χώρῃ ἱππασίμῃ.** The best MSS. have **ἱππασίμῳ,** and Stein proposes **ἐν χώρῳ ἱππασίμῳ.** But **χώρῃ** is more suited to the meaning than **χώρῳ.**

p. 11, l. 23. **ἔστησαν.** One good MS. has **ἔστασαν.** The historic tense is much more in place. Schweighauser however took **ἔστασαν** as = **ἐστήκεσαν.** cp. 4, 79.

p. 14, l. 13. **ἐπόθησαν.** All the MSS. have **ἐπόθεσαν** and **ἐπόθησε** in 3, 36. It appears from Eustathius on *Odyss.* 2, 375 that **πόθεσαι** was an Atticism. It was likely therefore to be introduced by later copyists. See J. E. Sandys on Isocrates *Panegy.* § 122. As for the future, the MSS. give without variation **ἐπιποθήσειν** in 5, 93; but Rutherford, *New Phrynichus* p. 404 says, 'There is no authority better than Xenophon for the active **ποθήσω,** but **ποθέσομαι** occurs in authors of irreproachable purity.'

p. 22, l. 2. **ὥς δὲ ἐπικάσαι.** The best MSS., with one exception, have **ἔστι.** But in this phrase the omission of **ἔστι** is by far the prevailing construction. cp. p. 34, l. 2.

p. 22, l. 5. **κατὰ τε ἔθνεα.** Stein omits **τε,** but it is found in the best MS. (R), and another of the best has **κατὰ τὰ,** an easy

correction. It seems needed, as two simultaneous divisions are intended,—by nations, and by companies in the nations.

p. 22, l. 11. **λεωσφέτερον**. Cobet rejects this as a *monstrum verbi*, and proposes **πολιήτην σφέτερον**. Some considerations are suggested in my note on the passage to make us hesitate to eject the word so summarily. But if it must go, I would suggest, rather than repeat the **πολιήτην** from l. 24, that a variation in two of the best MSS. may possibly afford a clue. In these it appears as two words **λεῶ σφέτερον**. Might this be a mistake for **λεῶ σφετέρου ἐποιήσαντο** ‘adopted as one of their own people’? cp. 1, 129 **εἰ ἐωντοῦ ποίεεται τὸ Κύρον ἔργον**.

p. 25, l. 3. **συγκεκυρημένον**. Reiske altered this to **συγκεκρημένον** (**κεράννυμι**) and Abicht supports the conjecture by 4, 152; 7, 151, where this word is used with **φιλίαι**. But though in place there, it is hardly so with **ἔχθος**. On the other hand no other instance of **συγκεκυρημένος** is known.

p. 30, l. 8. **μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι**. I omit **ἐξαίφνης** before **οἱ βάρβαροι**. It is not found in the excellent Roman MS. (R), and in another of the best the copyist wrote **οἱ βάρβαροι ἐξαίφνης**, and then altered the order by putting **β** and **α** over **βάρβαροι** and **ἐξαίφνης**. This looks as if his copy had **ἐξαίφνης** in the margin, or over the line, and that, missing it at first, he put it in afterwards: and thus its absence in R seems to be in a way justified.

p. 33, l. 14. **ποιεύμενοι**. One of the best MSS. has **μὴ ποιεύμενοι**. In c. 45 **ὑπερβαλεῖν** has the acc. **τὴν συμβολήν** after it: the participial construction may be compared with **ἐπειρώντο κατιόντες** cc. 26, 53.

p. 35, l. 28. **παρηγορέοντο**. Stein with the MSS. **παρηγόρειον**, but the middle is invariably used by Herod. elsewhere.

p. 36, l. 5. **ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους**. Cobet would omit these words as foisted in from c. 11. One of the best MSS. omits **ξείνους**. The words may well be a gloss, and I have bracketed them.

p. 51, l. 18. **τε καὶ ἐδόθη**. Cobet would omit these words as superfluous, and they are omitted in one of the best MSS. But the context supports them. Herod. says: ‘whether anything special was given to the bravest is not stated, but there was at any rate a portion set apart *and actually given* to Pausanias.’

# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΚΛΛΛΙΟΠΗ.

## BOOK IX.

*Mardonius breaks up his winter-quarters in Thessaly and marches towards Attica. [The Spring of B.C. 479.]*

I. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἤγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας· ὅκου δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίγνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίας ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα 5 μετέμελε οὐδέν. πολλῶ τε μᾶλλον ἐπήγουν τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ σύμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρήκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

*The Thebans urge Mardonius to stop in Boeotia and gain over the Greek States by bribery. He refuses, and advances into Attica, but finds Athens deserted.*

II. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν 10 Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ, λέγοντες ὥς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἐκαστέρῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἰζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ 15 μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἳ περ



καὶ πάρος ταῦτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περι-  
 γίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποισι· εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ  
 ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν, ἔφασαν λέγοντες, ἔξεις ἀπόνως  
 ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκείνων βουλευματα. πέμπε χρήματα ἐς  
 5 τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, πέμπων  
 δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τοὺς μὴ τὰ  
 σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηϊδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων κατα-  
 στρέψαι. III. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, ἀλλὰ οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἥμερος τὰς  
 10 Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἐλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης,  
 ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλεῖ δηλώσειν  
 ἔόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας. ὃς οὐδὲ τότε  
 ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὔρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι  
 15 ἐν τε τῇσι νηυσὶ, αἰρέει τε ἐρήμον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ  
 βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπι-  
 στρατηῆν δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

*Mardonius sends Murychides to Salamis to persuade the  
 Athenians there to accept his terms. The Athenians  
 not only refuse, but even stone Lycidas, with his wife  
 and children, for proposing to accept the offer.*

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνησι ἐγένετο Μαρδόνιος,  
 πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμίνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλη-  
 20 σπόντων, φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέ-  
 ξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε.  
 ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν  
 Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίσας δὲ σφεας  
 ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης  
 25 πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας καὶ ἐούσης ἤδη ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ.  
 τούτων μὲν εἵνεκεν ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλα-

μῖνα. V. Ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι, δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τὸν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ μὲν δὲ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, 5 εἴτε δὲ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἤνδανε, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι, οἳ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ὥς ἐπύθοντο, περιστάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν 10 ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἦϊσαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα, 15 κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

*The Athenians retire to Salamis on the approach of Mardonius. Then send for help to Sparta.*

VI. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε· ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσονται σφι, οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν μακρότερα τε καὶ σκολαιτερα 20 ἐποίηον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτῇ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὲ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμψαν ἀγγέλους, ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν 25 ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι

Ἀθηναίοισι, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὐρήσονται.

VII. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὄρταζόν τε τοῦτον  
τὸν χρόνον καὶ σφί ἦν Ἑτακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ'  
ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν. ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχος σφί,  
5 τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ δὴ ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε.  
ὥς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἀγγελοι οἱ ἀπ'  
Ἀθηνέων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ  
ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἐφόρους·

*Speech of the Athenian Envoys.*

10 I. “Ἐπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες, ὅτι ἡμῖν  
“ βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀποδιδού,  
“ τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ’ Ἰση τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ  
“ ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ  
“ καὶ ἄλλην χώραν πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν  
15 “ αὐτοὶ ἐλώμεθα· ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέν-  
“ τες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ  
“ καταινέσαμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικούμενοι  
“ ὑπ’ Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι ἐπιστάμενοί τε  
“ ὅτι κερδαλεώτερόν ἐστι ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μάλ-  
20 “ λον ἢ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν  
“ ἐκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ’ ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβ-  
“ δηλον ἐὼν νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. 2. Ὑμεῖς δὲ  
“ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογή-  
“ σωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον  
25 “ φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν  
“ Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ  
“ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλει ἐστι, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα  
“ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν  
“ Πέρσῃ ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτὴν προδεδώκατε,  
30 “ περιείδετε τε ἐσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρ-



“βαρον. ἐς μὲν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν  
 “μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως· νῦν δὲ ὅτι  
 “τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμ-  
 “πειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.  
 “ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίας, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης 5  
 “ἐπιτηδεότατόν ἐστι ἐμμαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον  
 “πεδίον.”

*The Ephors still delay.*

VIII. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα 10 ἡμέρας ἐποίουν, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἴσθμόν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλει. οὐδ' ἔχω εἶπαι τὸ αἴτιον, διότι ἀπικο- μένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας 15 σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποίησαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποίησαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἴσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δέεσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, οὐκ ἂν πετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μέγας 20 καταρρωδικότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

*A timely warning. The Spartan troops start at last.*

IX. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσεως μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστα 25 ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον, τὸν δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε· “Οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναῖων

“ ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἄρθμίων, τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμαχων,  
 “ καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐλληλαμένου κρατεροῦ,  
 “ μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτεύαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννη-  
 “ σον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ’ ἐσακούσατε, πρὶν τι ἄλλο Ἀθη-  
 5 “ ναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.” X. Ὁ  
 μὲν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε, οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν  
 λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι  
 ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολλίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι  
 πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον  
 10 τάξαντες τῶν εἰλώτων, Πausανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου  
 ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγένετο μὲν νυν ἡ ἡγεμονίη  
 Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς,  
 ὁ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος  
 γὰρ ὁ Πausανίεω μὲν πατήρ, Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς,  
 15 οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ τὴν  
 στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν  
 χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν  
 ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.  
 20 προσαιρέεται δὲ ἐωυτῷ Πausανίης Εὐρύανακτα τὸν  
 Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

*The Athenian commissioners prepare to leave Sparta in  
 despair; but are informed that the Spartan troops are  
 already on their way.*

XI. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Πausανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω  
 Σπάρτης, οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὥς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν  
 εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν  
 25 νόῳ δὲ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἐωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε· “ Ὑμεῖς  
 “ μὲν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά  
 “ τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμα-

“χους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, χήτι  
 “τε συμμάχων, καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὔτῳ, ὅκως  
 “ἂν δύνωνται. καταλυσάμενοι δὲ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμ-  
 “μαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπὶ τὴν  
 “ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθῇ- 5  
 “σεσθε, ὁκοῖον ἂν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνη.” Ταῦτα  
 λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ’ ὅρκου καὶ  
 δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 ξείνους· ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ δὲ  
 ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτεον τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι 10  
 δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι  
 ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν  
 περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι  
 ὀπλῖται τῷτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

*Mardonius is warned of the approach of the Peloponnesian  
 army by a messenger from Argos, and prepares to  
 quit Attica; but returns in the hope of meeting and  
 crushing an advanced guard of the main army in the  
 Megarid.*

XII. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο, 15  
 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ  
 Πανσανίῳ ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι  
 κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς  
 τὴν Ἀττικὴν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι  
 σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι. ὃς ἐπεὶ τε 20  
 ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἔλεγε τάδε· “Μαρδόνιε,  
 “ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι, ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαί-  
 “μονος ἐξελλήλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν  
 “ἴσχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα  
 “τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος.” XIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἶπας 25



ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι  
 πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα.  
 πρὶν μὲν νυν ἡ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι  
 τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε  
 5 ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἐλπίζων διὰ  
 παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ  
 ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ  
 Πανσανίῳ ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ὑπεξεχώρεε  
 ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν  
 10 τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα κατα-  
 βαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν,  
 ὅτι οὔτε ἵππασίμη ἢ χώρα ἦν ἢ Ἀττικὴ, εἴ τε νικῶτο  
 συμβαλὼν, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινὸν,  
 ὥστε καὶ ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλεύετο  
 15 ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς  
 πόλιν τε φίλῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἵππασίμη. XIV. Μαρδόνιος  
 μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἥδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ ἦλθε  
 ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρά,  
 Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβου-  
 20 λεύετο, θέλων, εἴ πως τούτους πρῶτον ἔλοι. ὑπο-  
 στρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἤγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρά· ἡ δὲ  
 ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώραν τὴν Μεγαρίδα.  
 ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίον  
 δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκητο.

*Finding however that the enemy were in greater force than  
 he expected, he proceeded with his retreat to Boeotia by  
 way of Decelæia, and encamped on the river Asopus.*

25 XV. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦκε ἀγγελίη, ὡς  
 ἀλέες εἶσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἴσθμῳ. οὕτω δὴ  
 ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελῆς. οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι

μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο εἰς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ εἰς Τανάγρην. ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ εἰς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ 5 μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὐτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος, βουλόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἦν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνειν ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρήκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ 10 στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς, κατέτεινε δὲ εἰς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστα κη μέτωπον ἔκαστον.

15

*Attaginus entertains Mardonius at dinner.*

Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων Ἀτταγῖνος ὁ Φρύωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἶποντο. ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνόν ποιεῦ- 20 μενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. XVI. Τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου, ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θερσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα 25 καὶ σφῶν οὐ χωρὶς ἐκατέρους κλίνειν, ἀλλὰ Πέρσῃν τε καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν κλίνῃ ἐκάστη. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσῃν τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἰέντα εἶρεσθαι αὐτόν ὁποδαπὸς ἐστι, αὐτὸς

- δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν·  
 “Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος  
 “ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλι-  
 “πέσθαι ἐθέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ  
 5 “βουλευέσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὕρᾱς τούτους  
 “τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν  
 “ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον; τού-  
 “των πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος  
 “ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους.” Ταῦτά τε ἅμα  
 10 τὸν Πέρσῃν λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων.  
 αὐτὸς δὲ θωυμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν·  
 “Οὐκὼν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν καὶ  
 “τοῖσι μετ’ ἐκείνῳ ἐν αἴνῃ εὐοῦσι Περσέων;” Τὸν  
 δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· “Ξεῖνε, ὃ τι δέει γενέσθαι ἐκ  
 15 “τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 “πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδεῖς. ταῦτα δὲ  
 “Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ  
 “ἐνδεδεμένοι. ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώ-  
 “ποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν.”  
 20 Ταῦτα μὲν τοῦ Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ  
 τάδε πρὸς τούτοις, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα  
 πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι  
 τὴν μάχην.

*A thousand Phokian hoplites join Mardonius. Their  
 courage is put to the proof.*

- XVII. Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατο-  
 25 πεδευομένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες  
 στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ  
 ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μῦνοι δὲ  
 Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον· ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα



καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἐκόντες, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. ἡμέρησι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὀπλίται χίλιοι· ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἀρ-  
μοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικάτο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος 5  
ἱππέας ἐκέλευσέ σφεας ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἡ ἵππος  
ἅπασα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατο-  
πέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὥς κατακουτιέει σφέας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων 10  
τῶν τὸ τοῦτο. ἔνθα δὴ σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε “ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γάρ,  
“ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ  
“θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὥς  
“ἐγὼ εἰκάζω, νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ ὑμέων χρεὸν ἐστὶ 15  
“γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν. κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντάς τι καὶ  
“ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα, ἥπερ παρέχον-  
“τας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις  
“αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἑλληνσι ἀνδράσι  
“φόνον ἔρραψαν.” XVIII. Ὁ μὲν ὦν ταῦτα παραίνεε, 20  
οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἐπεὶ τέ σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὥς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὥς ἀπήσοντες,  
καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν, πάντῃ  
συστρέψαντες ἐωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὥς μάλιστα.  
ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππῖται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. 25  
οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπο-  
λέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ᾧ ῥεον πρὸς ἀλέξῃσιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ  
σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω  
(ὥς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος), οὐτ' εἰ αὐτῶν 30  
πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὥς δὲ

ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππότες, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε· “Θαρσέετε, ὦ Φωκέες. ἄνδρες  
 “γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοὶ, οὐκ ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην.  
 “καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον·  
 5 “εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτε ὦν ἐμὲ οὔτε  
 “βασιλέα.” τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

*The Greeks arrive at Erythrae on the northern slopes of Kithaeron. First position of the Greek army.*

XIX. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὥς ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἦνδανε, οἱ  
 10 δὲ καὶ ὀρέοντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίουν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὦν τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες, καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσίνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρὰ, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο,  
 15 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέστες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ὥς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ  
 20 Κιθαιρώνος.

*The Persian cavalry vainly attempt to provoke the Greeks to descend into the valley. The Athenians volunteer to occupy the post of danger.*

XX. Μαρδόνιος δὲ, ὥς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχου Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσησι, τὸν Ἕλληνας Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νισαῖον

χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς.  
ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἵπποται πρὸς τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα· προσβαλόντες δὲ  
κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναικῆς σφεας ἀπεκάλεον.

XXI. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες 5  
τῇ τε τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντὸς, καὶ ἡ  
πρόσδοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ. προσ-  
βαλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι  
ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα,  
ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· 10  
“Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· Ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ  
“δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μῦνοι,  
“ἔχοντες στάσιω ταύτην, ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ  
“καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρήν τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ  
“πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μὴ τινες ἄλλους πέμψετε 15  
“διαδόχους τῆς τάξις, ἵστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν  
“τάξιν.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ σφί ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε, Πανσανίης  
δὲ ἀπεπειράτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι  
ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χώρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι  
διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων 20  
Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο, καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι  
λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

*The death of Masistius. The Persian manner of mourning.*

XXII. Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἳ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ  
πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς  
ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι· μαχομένων 25  
δὲ σφεων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιούνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης·  
προσβαλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα ὁ Μασιστίου  
προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ  
πλευρὰ, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταται τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται



τὸν Μασίστιον. πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα  
 ἐπεκέατο. τὸν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι.  
 ἐνεσκέυαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὺς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον  
 5 λεπιδωτὸν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα  
 φοινίκεον ἐνδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα  
 ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρὶν γε δὴ μαθῶν τις τὸ ποιούμενον  
 παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ  
 ἀπέθανε. Ταῦτα δὲ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς  
 10 ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης  
 καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ  
 ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθησαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ  
 τάσσων. μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι  
 15 ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὥς ἂν τὸν γε νεκρὸν  
 ἀνελοίατο. XXIII. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι  
 κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλ' ἅμα  
 πάντας, τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ  
 ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχῃ ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ  
 20 νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μὲν νυν μῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι,  
 ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλιπον· ὥς δὲ  
 σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππῶται  
 ὑπέμενον, οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων.  
 25 ἀποστήσαντες ὦν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ  
 τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιεῖν· ἐδόκεε δὲ σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης  
 ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. XXIV. Ἀπικομένης  
 δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο  
 Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος  
 30 μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους  
 καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, οἰμωγῇ τε χρεόμενοι ἀπλῆτω.

ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτὴν κατεῖχε ἡχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετὰ γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλεῖ.

*The Greeks are encouraged: but decide to move nearer Plataea, chiefly for the sake of water. Second position.*

XXV. Οἱ μὲν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς τὴν 5 ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβαλοῦσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὥσαντο, ἐθάρσυναν πολλῷ μᾶλλον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάλθεος εἵνεκεν καὶ κάλλεος. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς 10 τάξεις ἐφοίτεον θηησόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεύτερός σφι ἐνστράτοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐνδρο- 15 τερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἦϊσαν διὰ 20 τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιᾶς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμέγεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χωρίου.

*The Tegeans and Athenians dispute for the honour of occupying one wing of the army. I. Speech of the Tegeans.*

XXVI. Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξει ἐγένετο λόγων πολλὸς ὠθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων. ἐδι- 25

- καίεν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρασ, καὶ  
 καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ  
 Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε· “Ἡμεῖς αἰεὶ κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα  
 “ταύτης τῆς τάξις ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων, ὅσαι  
 5 “ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ  
 “παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπεῖτε  
 “Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρώντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον  
 “κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον. τότε εὐρόμεθα τοῦτο  
 “διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε· ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων  
 10 “τῶν τότε ἑόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες  
 “ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἰζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιούσι, τότε  
 “ὦν λόγος Ὑλλὸν ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη τὸν  
 “μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλ-  
 “λονται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν  
 15 “ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ  
 “μουννομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι  
 “Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα, καὶ ἔταμον  
 “ὅρκια ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἣν μὲν Ὑλλος νικήσῃ τὸν  
 “Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ  
 20 “τὰ πατρώϊα, ἣν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας  
 “ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν  
 “τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον.  
 “προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων συμμάχων ἐθελοντῆς  
 “Ἐχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν  
 25 “καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουννομάχησέ τε καὶ  
 “ἀπέκτεινε Ὑλλόν. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὐρόμεθα ἐν  
 “Πελοποννησίοισι τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα,  
 “τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἐτέρου  
 “αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μὲν  
 30 “νυν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες  
 “αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρον βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίε-



“μεν, τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμέν ἡμέας ἰκνέεσθαι ἡγεμο-  
 “νεύειν, κατὰ περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρὶς τε  
 “τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότεροί εἰμεν  
 “Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ  
 “καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, 5  
 “ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδασαι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους.  
 “οὕτω ὦν ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ  
 “Ἀθηναίους. οὐ γάρ σφί ἐστι ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν  
 “κατεργασμένα, οὐτ’ ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά.”

*The reply of the Athenians. After hearing both sides the  
 Spartans decide in favour of Athens.*

XXVII. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ 10  
 πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε· “Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν  
 “σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκεν συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν  
 “βάρβαρον, ἀλλ’ οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης  
 “προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν, τὰ ἐκατέροισι ἐν  
 “τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστὰ, ἀναγκαίως 15  
 “ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας, ἵθιν ἡμῖν πατρῴον  
 “ἐστι εἶναι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρότοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ  
 “Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὐτοί φασι ἀποκτείναι  
 “τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, τοῦτο μὲν τούτους πρότερον,  
 “ἐξελαυννομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπι- 20  
 “κοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μού-  
 “νοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν,  
 “σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας  
 “Πελοπόννησον. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυ-  
 “νεΐκος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν 25  
 “αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κείμενους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ  
 “τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φάμεν καὶ  
 “θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον

“εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος  
 “ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν. καὶ  
 “ἐν τοῖσι Τρωϊκοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα.  
 “ἀλλ’ οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνήσθαι· καὶ γάρ  
 5 “ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἔόντες ὧν τοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι,  
 “καὶ τότε ἔόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. πα-  
 “λαιῶν μὲν νυν ἔργων ἄλις ἔστω. ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν  
 “ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ  
 “ἔχοντα εἰ τέοισι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ  
 10 “τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας  
 “ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οὔτινες μόνον Ἑλλήνων  
 “δὴ μουννομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσοῦτῳ  
 “ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνίκησαμεν ἔθνεα  
 “ἕξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα. ἄρ’ οὐ δίκαιοι εἶμεν ἔχειν  
 15 “ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μόνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ’  
 “οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἵνεκεν στασιάζειν πρέπει,  
 “ἄρτιοι εἶμεν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα  
 “δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἐστάναι καὶ κατ’  
 “οὔστινας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα εἶναι  
 20 “χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων.” XXVIII.  
 Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε  
 ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους  
 εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἥπερ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὲ ἔσχον  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλλοντο τοὺς Τεγεάτας.

*The numbers and order of the Greek army.*

25 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτούντές τε  
 καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων· τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας  
 εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντα-  
 κισχιλίους ἔοντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν  
 εἰλωτέων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα

ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφί εἶλοντο  
 ἐστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκεν  
 καὶ ἀρετῆς. τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὀπλίται χίλιοι καὶ πεν-  
 τακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσταντο Κορινθίων πεντα-  
 κισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὗροντο παρὰ Πausανίῳ 5  
 ἐστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόν-  
 τας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἀρκάδες  
 Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι.  
 τούτων δὲ εἶχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ  
 τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ 10  
 ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων  
 καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι  
 Φλιάσιοι χίλιοι· παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες  
 τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἴσταντο Ἑρετριέων  
 τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες 15  
 τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι.  
 μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτα-  
 κόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλῆες οἱ ἐκ  
 Κεφαλληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινήτων  
 πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο 20  
 Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἶχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες  
 ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσ-  
 σοντο κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον ὀκτακισχίλιοι,  
 ἐστράτηγες δ' αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

XXIX. Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγ- 25  
 μένων Σπαρτιῆτησι, ἦσαν ὀπλίται, συνάπαντες ἔοντες  
 ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ  
 ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτὰ. ὀπλίται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλ-  
 λεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ  
 πλῆθος ἦν τόδε· τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξις πεντα- 30  
 κισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες ὡς ἔοντων ἑπτὰ περὶ



ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς  
 ἐς πόλεμον, οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
 Ἑλλήνων ψилоὶ, ὡς εἰς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα,  
 πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.  
 5 XXX. ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀπάντων μαχίμων ἦν τὸ  
 πλῆθος ἕξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκα-  
 τοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ  
 συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σὺν τε ὀπλίτησι καὶ ψιλοῖσι  
 τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἑνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος,  
 10 πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ  
 Θεσπιδέων τοῖσι παρεούσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἑνδεκα  
 μυριάδες. παρήσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιδέων ἐν τῷ στρα-  
 τοπέδῳ οἱ περιέοντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ  
 χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μὲν νῦν  
 15 ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

*The nations composing the Persian army, and their order  
 and number.*

XXXI. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς  
 ἀπεκηδενσαν Μασίστιον, παρήσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτην ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσ-  
 20 σοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου· κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους  
 ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλῆθεϊ  
 οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τε τάξις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ  
 ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν  
 αὐτοῦ δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον  
 25 Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ  
 τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ  
 διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε  
 Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτι-

δαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων  
 δὲ ἔχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον  
 Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε  
 καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλιασίους.  
 μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον 5  
 Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἑρετριέας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ  
 Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἔχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἱ  
 ἐπέσχον· Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ  
 Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ  
 ἔχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων 10  
 καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκρούς καὶ Μηλίας  
 καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους. οὐ γὰρ ὦν  
 ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινες αὐτῶν καὶ  
 τὰ Ἑλλήνων αὖξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησὸν κατειλημένοι,  
 καὶ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμεόμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε 15  
 Μαρδονίου στρατιήν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑόντας  
 Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακεδόνας τε καὶ τοὺς  
 περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.  
 XXXII. ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνό-  
 μασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τὰ περ 20  
 ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου. ἐνῆσαν δὲ  
 καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε  
 καὶ Θρηήκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἳ τε  
 Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιρο- 25  
 φόροι, οἵπερ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους  
 δὲ ἔτι ἑὼν ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο  
 ἑόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν  
 ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι.  
 τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὥς 30  
 καὶ πρότερον δεδῆλωται, τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν

Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν (οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἡριθμήθησαν), ὥς δὲ ἐπικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

*The bargain made by Tisamenus for acting as soothsayer to the Spartans.*

- 5 XXXIII. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἑλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θύμενος. οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἶπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἔοντα Ἥλεϊον καὶ  
 10 γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων Κλυτιάδην Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε τοῖσι γυμνασίοισι ὥς  
 15 ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρηϊοὺς ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήϊον, μισθῷ ἐπειρώντο  
 20 πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλιδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὀρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι, ὥς ἦν μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσονται τῶν πάντων  
 25 μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησιμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου



στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνούς τετραμ-  
 μένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοις  
 μούνιοις, ἀλλὰ δέειν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ  
 Ἥγῃν γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοις  
 τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. XXXIV. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων 5  
 οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιληῆν τε  
 καὶ πολιτηῆν αἰτεόμενον. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους  
 τῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι  
 ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας  
 τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνετο τῆς βασιληῆς τὸ 10  
 ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων, ἀλλ'  
 ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν, οὕτω  
 δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνετο ἧσαν  
 δώσουντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὀρέων  
 αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φὰς, ἦν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ 15  
 Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληῆς, οὐ  
 ποιήσῃν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες  
 ἐς στεινὸν καταίνουσι καὶ ταῦτα. XXXV. Ὡς  
 δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ,  
 πάντα συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα 20  
 τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος  
 ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἥλειος γενό-  
 μενος Σπαρτιήτης συγκαταιρέει. μῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτησι πολιῆται. οἱ  
 δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οὔδε ἐγένοντο· εἰς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος 25  
 οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας  
 τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι  
 πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ  
 Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τα-  
 νάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργεῖους γενόμενος. 30  
 οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγῶνων.

XXXVI. Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ὁ Τισαμενὸς ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν Ἑλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοι-  
σι, διαβῶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὐ.

*Hegesistratus of Elis and his desperate escape.*

5 XXXVII. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλὰ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἡλείῳν τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἔοντα λογιμώτατον,  
10 τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῇται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρὰ, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. ὡς γὰρ  
15 δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμνηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηϊότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδὸς, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἐωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασ-  
20 σόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοίχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτῳ ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώνματι μεγάλῳ  
25 ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὀρέοντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κακεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμῖν Λακεδαιμονίοισι τούτου τὸν χρόνον. ὑγιῆς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος

ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθὺς Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἤλω γὰρμαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

XXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν νυν θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου 5 ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταικῶν, τότε δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατὰ τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.

*The victims continue unfavourable, and Mardonius though eager to give battle procrastinates for eight days. Meanwhile the Greeks are daily reinforced. The Persian cavalry cut off a convoy.*

Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι 10 Πέρσησι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μάντιν Ἰππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἑρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ 15 Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχρούς.

XXXIX. Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτῶ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκείνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσιν, 20 ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας, αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλὰς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἵπποται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο. ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι 25 ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοπον-



νήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους, οἳ εἶποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἐλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνεον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὥς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον  
 5 κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαινον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

*Two more days of desultory skirmishing.*

XL. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήϊσαν οἱ βάρβαροι, πειρώ-  
 10 μνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσεκέετό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παρα-  
 15 δεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

*Eleventh day. Mardonius is advised to retire into Thebes and corrupt the Greek states with gold, but is determined to fight.*

XLI. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων, ὥς δὲ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρῃ ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἳ τε δὴ  
 20 Ἕλληνες πολλῶ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν, καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἔδρῃ. ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδονίος τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὅς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξη. βουλευομένων δὲ αἶδε ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι, ἡ μὲν

Ἄρταβάζου, ὡς χρεὸν εἶη ἀναξεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑπόζυγίοισι, κατ' ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε. ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν 5 πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστέωτας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην, μηδὲ 10 ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν νυν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότης πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη. δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν 15 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλληγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλληλεγεμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἠγησιστράτου εἶναι χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

20

*Mardonius interprets an oracle ; and announces an engagement on the next (12th) day.*

XLII. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιοῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδεὶς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμφάμενος ὢν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς 25 εἰρώτα, εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδόντων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ

- εἰδότες μὲν, ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν,  
 αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε  
 “οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὥς εὖ  
 “ἐπιστάμενος. ἔστι λόγιον ὥς χρεόν ἐστι Πέρσας  
 5 “ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν  
 “Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας.  
 “ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἵμεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 “ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε  
 “εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι  
 10 “τυγχάνουσι εὖνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε  
 “εἵνεκεν, ὥς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.” Ταῦτά  
 σφι εἶπας δεύτερα ἐσήμηνε παραρτέεσθαι τε πάντα  
 καὶ εὐκρινέα ποίεεσθαι ὥς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ  
 συμβολῆς ἐσομένης. XLIII. Τοῦτον δ’ ἔγωγε τὸν  
 15 χρησμὸν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς  
 Ἰλλυριοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχέλεων στρατὸν οἶδα πε-  
 ποιημένον, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδί  
 ἐστὶ ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην πεποιημένα,

- Τὴν δ’ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ  
 20 Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰϋγὴν,  
 Τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ Λάχεσιν τε μόρον τε  
 Τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθῃ.  
 ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἄλλα Μουσαίῳ  
 ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει  
 25 μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.



*The Athenians are warned in the night by Alexander, son of Amyntas, king of the Macedonians, and informed of the cause of Persian delay and the determination to fight next (12th) day.*

XLIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὥς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προ-  
 ἐλήλατο, καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα  
 καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα 5  
 προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων  
 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ  
 βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς  
 λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῖνες  
 παρέμενον, οἱ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐλθόντες 10  
 δὲ ἔλεγον, ὥς ἄνθρωπος ἦκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρα-  
 τοπέδου τοῦ Μηδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ  
 ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους  
 ἐλθεῖν. XLV. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα  
 εἶποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε 15  
 Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε· “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην  
 “ὕμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύμενος  
 “πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Πανσανίην, μή με  
 “καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μέγας  
 “ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός τε γὰρ 20  
 “Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῶρ χαῖον, καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δε-  
 “δουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὀρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω  
 “δὲ ὦν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ  
 “δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσ-  
 “θε· νῦν δὲ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια εἶναι χαίρειν, ἅμα 25  
 “ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι. καταρ-  
 “ρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῖνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὥς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω.

“πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτοιμάζεσθε. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται  
 “τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε  
 “μένοντες· ὀλίγων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία.  
 “ἦν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ,  
 5 “μνησθῆναί τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς  
 “Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκεν οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι  
 “ὑπὸ προθυμίας, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλώσαι τὴν διάνοιαν  
 “τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν οἱ βάρ-  
 “βαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος  
 10 “ὁ Μακεδών.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω  
 ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιιν.

*The Spartans change positions with the Athenians so that the latter should face the Persians, and they the Boeotians. Mardonius however makes a corresponding change, whereupon the Spartan commander Pausanias resumes his old place.*

XLVI. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες  
 ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Πausανίῃ τὰ περ ἤκουσαν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας  
 15 τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἡῶ ἢ συμ-  
 “βολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους  
 “στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς  
 “Βοιωτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ’ ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλ-  
 “λήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μή-  
 20 “δους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμε-  
 “νοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τέ εἰμεν καὶ ἀδαεῖς τούτων τῶν  
 “ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπεύρηται Μήδων.  
 “ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροί εἰμεν.  
 “ἀλλ’ ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἵεναι ὑμέας  
 25 “μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον.” Πρὸς

δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε· “Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν  
 “πάσαι ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ τε εἶδομεν κατ’ ὑμέας τασσο-  
 “μένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τά  
 “περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρωδέο-  
 “μεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ’ 5  
 “ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι  
 “γεγόνασι καὶ ἑτοιμοὶ εἶμεν ποιεῖν ταῦτα.” XLVII.  
 Ὡς δ’ ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἡὼς τε διέφαινε  
 καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ  
 τὸ ποιεῦμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ τε 10  
 ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο παρά-  
 γων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὥς δὲ  
 ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γενόμενον ὁ Πausανίης, γνούς  
 ὅτι οὐ λαμβάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ  
 δεξιὸν κέρας· ὥς δ’ αὐτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ 15  
 εὐωνύμου.

*A challenge to the Spartans, which receives no answer.*

XLVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρ-  
 χαίας τάξεις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς  
 Σπαρτιήτας, ἔλεγε τάδε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ  
 λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, 20  
 ἐκπαγλεομένων ὥς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε  
 τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς  
 ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ’ ἄρ’ ἦν οὐδὲν  
 ἀληθές. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμίξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε  
 νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ τάξιν ἐκ- 25  
 λείποντας ὑμέας εἶδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τε τὴν  
 πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτοὺς τε ἀντία δούλων  
 τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν ἔργα. ἀλλὰ πλείστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν.



προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὥς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς  
 ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλούμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι  
 Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἔοντες ποίειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν  
 τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὔρομεν, ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας  
 5 μάλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ  
 λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι,  
 πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς, ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν  
 ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 10 μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτεν μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ  
 δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι, ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ διαμαχεσόμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι,  
 τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν.

*The Persian cavalry annoy the Greeks and spoil their  
 water.*

XLIX. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας τε καὶ ἐπισχὼν  
 15 χρόνον, ὥς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνετο, ἀπαλλάσσετο  
 ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλα-  
 βόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς  
 ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὥς  
 δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππῶται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρα-  
 20 τιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ ἐστοξεύον-  
 τες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἔοντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι  
 ἄποροι. τὴν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς  
 ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετά-  
 ραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην  
 25 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μούνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι  
 Ἕλλησι ἢ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὥς ἕκαστοι  
 ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ δὲ Ἀσωπὺς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι  
 δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοί-

unstable  
 being  
 how could

τεον· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ  
φορέεσθαι ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

*The Greeks resolve to shift their position to the 'Island',  
a mile nearer Plataea, for the sake of water, for  
greater safety from the Persian cavalry, and greater  
facility in protecting convoys over Kithaeron. Third  
position of the Greek Army. [cc. 19, 25.]*

L. Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
στρατηγοὶ, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς  
καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ 5  
αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Πausανίην  
ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων  
έόντων μᾶλλον σφεας ἐλύπee· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον  
ἔτι, οἳ τέ σφεων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελο-  
πόννησον ὡς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀποκεκλέατο ὑπὸ τῆς 10  
ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

LI. βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἦν  
ὑπερβάλονται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν  
ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
'Ασωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ἣ 15  
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίου ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ  
τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν  
ἡπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ  
Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίου, διέχων ἀπ'  
ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτεν 20  
συμμίσγει ἐς ταῦτό· οὔνομα δὲ οἱ Ὀερὸν. θυγατέρα  
δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς  
τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χώρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι,  
ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ, καὶ οἱ ἱππέες  
σφέας μὴ σινοίατο, ὥσπερ κατιθὺ έόντων. μετα- 25  
κινέεσθαι τε ἐδόκεε τότε, ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ἦ δευτέρῃ

φυλακῇ, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίαιτο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμεομένους καὶ σφεας ἐπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππῶται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὀερόῃ περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ  
 5 τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὥς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

*Twelfth Night. The main body of the Greek allies go further than is intended and occupy the Heraeum close to Plataea.*

LII. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν  
 10 ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον. ὥς δὲ ἡ τε ἡμέρῃ ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππῆες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ εὐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν δὴ συνεκέετό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον  
 15 ἐς τὸν συνεκέετο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκινήθησαν, ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιός ἐστι τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον. ἀπικόμενοι  
 20 δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὄπλα.

*Pausanias is hindered from starting in the same direction by the obstinacy of Amompharetus.*

LIII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Πausανίης δὲ ὀρέων σφέας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰέναι κατὰ



τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν  
 χῶρον ἰέναι, ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν  
 ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιαρχέων πείθεσθαι Παν-  
 σανίῃ, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχηγέων τοῦ  
 Πιτανήτεω λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι 5  
 οὐδὲ ἐκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώνμαζέ τε  
 ὀρέων τὸ ποιούμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ  
 προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Πausanίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ  
 δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκείνους σφίσι,  
 δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι ἐκείνου ταῦτα νενωμένου ἀπολιπεῖν 10  
 τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἦν ἀπολλίπωσι ποιεῦντες  
 τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλησι, ἀπόληται  
 ὑπολειφθεῖς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ.  
 Ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ  
 Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὥς οὐ χρεὸν 15  
 εἶη ταῦτα ποιεῖν. LIV. Καὶ οἱ μὲν παρηγορέοντο  
 Ἀμομφάρετον μῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεστήων  
 λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίουν τοιαύδε· εἶχον  
 ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι  
 τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὥς ἄλλα φρονεόντων 20  
 καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. ὥς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον,  
 ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι  
 ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν  
 μὴ διανοεῖνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαί τε Παν-  
 σανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἶη ποιεῖν. LV. Ὡς δὲ ἀπύκετο ὁ 25  
 κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τέ σφεας κατὰ  
 χώραν τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν  
 τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομ-  
 φάρετον ὃ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Πausanίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν  
 μένοντας μῦνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς 30  
 ὃ ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπύκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν

Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι χερσὶ, καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Πausανίῳ ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, 5 [ξείνους λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους]. ὁ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενῆρεα καλέων ἐκείνον πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα ἐπειρωτέοντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Πausανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήϊζε τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρήσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ 10 ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

*Thirteenth Morning. Pausanias starts at length and marches along the high ground harassed by the Persian cavalry; while the Athenians march by the lower road. Amompharetus follows after an interval.*

LVI. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἡὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Πausανίης οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι 15 τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἶποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἦϊσαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης 20 τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον. LVII. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχὴν τε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Πausανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν. προτερέοντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Πausανίῃ, 25 καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ ἀπολιπεῖν αὐτὸν, ἀναλαμβάνοντα τὸν λόχον τὰ ὄπλα ἤγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στίφος. τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε

τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἰδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χώρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἵσται· ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἦν μὴ ἀπολείπη τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφαρέτος τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, 5 βοθητοὶ ὑπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἳ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτον παρεγίνοντό σφι, καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσεκέετο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἶον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιεῖν αἰεὶ, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χώρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρησι, 10 ἡλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

*In the morning Mardonius sees the Greek Position evacuated and orders a general pursuit. He directs it against the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans.*

LVIII. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιοχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδε τε τὸν χώρον ἐρήμον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς 15 αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήϊον ἔλεγε· “ὦ παῖδες “Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὀρέοντες ἐρήμα; ὑμεῖς “γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ “φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια “πρώτους, τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς 20 “τάξιος εἶδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιοχομένην νύκτα “καὶ οἱ πάντες ὀρέομεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεὶ “σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων “μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἔοντες ἐν οὐδα- 25 “μοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν “ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο “συγγνώμη, ἐπαυνεόντων τούτους, τοῖσί τι καὶ συνη- “δέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην



“τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους, καταρρωδῆ-  
 “σαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὥς χρεὸν  
 “εἶη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἵεναι ἐς τὸ Θη-  
 “βαίων ἄστνυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ  
 5 “βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. Καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐτέρωθι ἔσται  
 “λόγος, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα  
 “ἐστὶ, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώ-  
 “σουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας.”

LIX. Ταῦτα εἶπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας  
 10 τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὥς δὴ ἀπο-  
 διδρῃσκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ  
 Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ  
 πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὀρέ-  
 οντες ὠρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ  
 15 τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες  
 ἤειραν τὰ σημήϊα, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὥς ποδῶν ἕκαστος  
 εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι. Καὶ  
 οὔτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήϊσαν ὥς ἀναρπασό-  
 μενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

*Pausanias, seeing the Persians approaching, sends hastily to the Athenians to join him. The latter attempt to do so at once, but are prevented by an attack of the Greek contingent of the Persian army.*

20 LX. Πανσανίης δὲ, ὥς προσεκέετο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε·  
 “Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου,  
 “ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προ-  
 “δεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμό-  
 25 “νιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην  
 “νύκτα διαδράντων. νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ

“ποιητέον ἡμῖν, ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα  
 “περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μὲν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε  
 “ἀρχὴν ἢ ἵππος, χρῆν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ’  
 “ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοη-  
 “θέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δὲ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπαντα κεχώρηκε, 5  
 “δίκαιοι ἐστε ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν  
 “μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἵεναι. εἰ δ’ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας  
 “καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ’ ἡμῖν  
 “τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοί-  
 “δαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι 10  
 “πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοις, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν.”  
 LXI. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὀρμέατο  
 βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν. καὶ σφί ἤδη  
 στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν  
 μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοη- 15  
 θῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενόν σφεας ἐλύπεε.

**The Battle.** *The Lacedaemonians and Tegeans thus isolated cannot get favourable omens for a charge, until Pausanias utters a prayer to Herè. Then the omens become suddenly favourable and the Tegeans begin the charge. There is a violent hand to hand struggle.*

οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται,  
 ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι,  
 Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο  
 ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες 20  
 Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ  
 σφί ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστὰ, ἐπιπτὸν τε αὐτῶν ἐν  
 τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῶ πλεῦνες ἐτρω-  
 ματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι  
 ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε 25

πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ  
 γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Πausανίην πρὸς τὸ  
 Ἑραῖον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεὸν,  
 χρηρίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφεας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

5 LXII. Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξ-  
 αναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα μετὰ  
 τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Πausανίῳ ἐγένετο θυομένοισι τὰ  
 σφάγια χρηστά. ὥς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον  
 10 καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ  
 τόξα μετέντες. ἐγένετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα  
 μάχη. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγένετο μάχη  
 ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ  
 πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δούρατα  
 15 ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι  
 μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἔσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι,  
 ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἔόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ  
 οὐκ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίῃν. προεξαΐσσοντες  
 δὲ κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλευνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες  
 20 συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ  
 διεφθείροντο.

*Mardonius falls.*

LXIII. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος  
 ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν  
 λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ  
 25 καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μὲν νυν  
 χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνό-  
 μενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὥς δὲ  
 Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκείνον τεταγμένον  
 ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο  
 καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλείστον γάρ



σφεας ἐδηλέετο ἢ ἐσθῆς ἔρημος εὐῦσα ὄπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὀπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνήτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

LXIV. Ἐνθαῦτα ἢ τε δίκη τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἀπασέων 5 τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Πausανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω. τῶν δὲ κατύπερθε οἱ προγόνων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὧντοὶ γὰρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ 10 ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

*The Persians retreat to their entrenched camp.*

LXV. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ 15 στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον, τὸ ἐποίησαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἰς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανὼν, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν τῷ 20 βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δὲ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἢ θεὸς αὐτῇ σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀνάκτορον.

*Artabazus at the head of forty thousand men seeing the other Persians in full retreat retired along the road to Phokis intending to make for the Hellespont.*

LXVI. Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο, Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο 25

κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἔων· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι.  
 5 τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωυτόν), τούτους, ὅπως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τῶντὸ  
 10 ἵεναι πάντας τῇ αὖ αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται, ὅπως αὖ αὐτὸν ὀρέωσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας. οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίσ-  
 15 την ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος, ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

*Meanwhile the Athenians after prolonged fighting had defeated the Boeotians who retreated into Thebes.*

LXVII. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκα-  
 20 κεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπесον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων· ὡς δὲ  
 25 ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι. καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος ἔφευγον.

*The rout is general. The cavalry protect the fugitives.*

LXVIII. Δηλοὶ τέ μοι, ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὔτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμίξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ Βοιωτῆς. αὕτη δὲ 5 τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεὶ τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀγχιστα ἐοῦσα, ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φίλους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

*The rest of the Greeks, who had advanced further than they were ordered and were near the Heraeum close to Plataea, hearing that the Persians were in retreat, hasten to rejoin, but are cut to pieces by the Theban cavalry.*

LXIX. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἶποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ 10 φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ νικῶεν οἱ μετὰ Πανσανίῳ. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς 15 ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσιν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλιασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλιάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων 20 ἱππῶνται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχες Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου. ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν



ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα.

*The flying Persians manage to reach their entrenched camp.*

*The Lakedaemonians as usual fail in storming the fortification ; but as soon as the Athenians come up the Greeks force the camp and obtain an immense booty.*

LXX. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ  
 5 ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες  
 πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι. ἀναβάντες  
 δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἐδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος. προσ-  
 ελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεε σφι  
 τειχομαχίῃ ἐρρωμενεστέρα. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ  
 10 Ἀθηναῖοι, οἱ δ' ἡμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλεον εἶχον τῶν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχείειν,  
 ὡς δὲ σφι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρῇ  
 ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίῃ καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ  
 ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος  
 15 καὶ ἤριπον, τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ  
 ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν  
 Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τὰ τε ἄλλα  
 ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐοῦσαν χαλκῆν  
 πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μὲν νυν φάτνην ταύτην  
 20 τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης  
 Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν, ὅσα περ  
 ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι  
 οὐδὲν ἔτι στίφος ἐποίησαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος  
 οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἶα ἐν  
 25 ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες  
 κατειλημένοι ἀνθρώπων. παρῆν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι

φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων, τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπῶν μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἰς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων 5 δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

*Who showed the greatest valour on either side. The end of Aristodemus the survivor of Thermopylae.*

LXXI. Ἡρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δὲ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακε- 10 δαιμόνιοι. ἄλλω μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἐωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον προσηνεύχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων 15 μῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὕνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύνων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος Σπαρτιήτης. καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλό- 20 μενον φανερώς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίας, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλειπόντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν, 25 οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, τίμιοι ἐγένοντο, Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προ-

ειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη. LXXII. Οὔτοι μὲν  
 τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλι-  
 κράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ  
 κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ  
 5 μῦνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 Ἑλλήνων, ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Πausanίης, κατή-  
 μενος ἐν τῇ τάξει ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά.  
 καὶ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξηγηνηγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεε  
 τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον, ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, οὐ  
 10 μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστὶ οἱ ἀπο-  
 δεδεγμένον ἔργον ἐωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀπο-  
 δέξασθαι.

*The ancient service of the demesmen of Dekelea and their  
 reward.*

LXXIII. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι  
 15 Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων  
 δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν  
 πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ  
 δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι ἐσέ-  
 βαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθει καὶ  
 20 ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξεκέετο ἡ  
 Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν  
 Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα  
 περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ  
 πᾶν πρήγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ  
 25 Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι.  
 τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεύσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου  
 ἀτέλειά τε καὶ προεδρίῃ διατελεεί ἐς τὸδε αἰεὶ ἔτι  
 εἶσθε, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον



πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισι τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελῆς ἀποσχέσθαι.

*Sophanes and his anchor.*

LXXIV. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων, διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους 5 ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστήηρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκῇ ἀλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλέσκετο, ἵνα δὴ μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινήσαι μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν 10 ἐναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἐπίσημον ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ 15 θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην.

LXXV. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνει λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον, ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον, ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ 20 ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετὰλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

*A Greek woman, who had been captive to a Persian, rescued and restored to her friends.*

LXXVI. Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι 25 κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαυτὰ σφι ἐπήλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος, ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας

καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαραν-  
 δάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη  
 χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι  
 τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, καταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς  
 5 ἄρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι  
 φονῇσι ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα  
 Πανσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὖνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ  
 τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν  
 Πανσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε·  
 10 “ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, λῦσαί με τὴν ἰκέτιν αἰχμαλώ-  
 “του δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὦνησας τούσδε  
 “ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὅπιν ἔχον-  
 “τας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῶν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἑγητο-  
 “ρίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω. βίη δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῶ  
 15 “εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης.” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοισίδε· “Γύναι,  
 “θάρσее καὶ ὡς ἰκέτις, καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχά-  
 “νεις ἀληθεῖα λέγουσα καὶ εἰς θυγάτηρ Ἑγητορίδεω  
 “τοῦ Κῶου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν  
 “περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων.” Ταῦτα εἶπας  
 20 τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρευούσι, ὕσ-  
 τερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγινα, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε  
 ἀπικέσθαι.

*The Mantineans and Eleians too late for the fair.*

LXXVII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικὸς  
 αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασ-  
 25 μένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἤκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς,  
 συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ἀξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι  
 σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς  
 μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι  
 Θεσσαλίας· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας

διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἦκον Ἑλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἑλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας 5 ἐδίωξαν.

*Lampon suggests crucifying the body of Mardonius in revenge for the indignity offered to the corpse of Leonidas. The noble answer of Pausanias.*

LXXVIII. Τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἑλείους τοσαῦτα· ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων τὰ πρῶτα, ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἔετο πρὸς 10 Πανσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυῆς “μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καὶ τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε “ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον “Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ 15 “ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅπως λόγος τέ σε ἔχῃ ἔτι μέ- “ζων καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ “ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. “Λεωνίδεω γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρ- “δόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν 20 “ἀνεσταύρωσαν. τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδούς ἔπαι- “νον ἔξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὐτὶς “δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Μαρδόνιον γὰρ “ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεται ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν “Λεωνίδην.” Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, 25 ὁ δ’ ἀνταμείβετο τοισίδε· LXXIX. “ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγι- “νήτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοεῖν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ,



“γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς. ἐξαείρας γάρ  
 “με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν  
 “κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν  
 “ταῦτα ποίεω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι. τὰ πρέπει  
 5 “μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποίεειν ἢ περ’ Ἑλλήσι· καὶ ἐκεί-  
 “νοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ’ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν  
 “μήτε Αἰγινήτησι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτ’ ἀρέσκεται,  
 “ἀποχρᾶ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτησι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν  
 “ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δὲ, τῷ με  
 10 “κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φῆμι· μέγ’ αὖτε μέγ’ αὖτε τιμωρῆσθαι,  
 “ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὖ-  
 “τός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτή-  
 “σαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε  
 “προσέλθης ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλευσῆς, χάριν τε ἴσθι  
 15 “ἐὼν ἀπαθής.”

*The booty. After reserving a tenth for Apollo at Delphi,  
 Zeus at Olympia, Poseidon in the Isthmus, the rest is  
 divided. Ignorance and dishonesty of the Helots.*

LXXX. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο,  
 Πausanίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἄπτεσθαι  
 τῆς ληΐης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς εἴλωτας τὰ  
 χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι  
 20 εὗρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ,  
 κλίνας τε ἐπιχρῦσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε  
 χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα. σάκκους  
 τε ἐπ’ ἀμαξέων εὗρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο  
 ἐνεόντες χρυσεοὶ τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπὸ τε τῶν κειμένων  
 25 νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλια τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς  
 ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης  
 λόγος ἐγένετο οὐδὲ εἷς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες

ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἴλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἶά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένοντο, οἱ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἴλωτέων ὠνέοντο. LXXXI. Συμφορὴ- 5  
σαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δέλφοις θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφις τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεῶς ἄγ-  
χιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Δία ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν 10  
Ἴσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἐπτάπηχυσ χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματά τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. Ὅσα μὲν νυν ἐξαί- 15  
ρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἐγώ γε καὶ τούτοις δοθῆναι. Πausανίη δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες, ἵπποι, τάλαντα, κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα. 20

*Pausanias gives a banquet in the Royal tent.*

LXXXII. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἐώντου· Πausανίην ὦν ὀρέοντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην κελεῦσαι 25  
τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιούς κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελεύομενοι οὗτοι ἐποίουν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Πausανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας

καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν  
 μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα  
 ἀγαθὰ κελεύσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους  
 παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δείπνον. ὥς δὲ τῆς θοίνης  
 5 ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Πανσανίην γελά-  
 σαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Πανσανίην,  
 δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου τὴν παρασκευὴν·  
 “Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνή-  
 10 “γαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦ Μήδου τὴν ἀφροσύνην  
 “δεξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω  
 “οὔζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος.”

*Extraordinary skulls and bones.*

LXXXIII. Ταῦτα μὲν Πανσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν  
 πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὑστέρῳ μέντοι  
 15 χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὖρον συχνοὶ  
 θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων.  
 ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τότε ὕστερον ἔτι τούτων. τῶν νεκρῶν  
 περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας (συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ  
 ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἓνα χῶρον) εὐρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ  
 20 ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα ὀστέου·  
 ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος, καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἔχουσα  
 ὀδόντας μονοφυέας, ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας, τοὺς τε  
 ὀδόντας καὶ τοὺς γομφίους· καὶ πενταπῆχεος ἀνδρὸς  
 ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

*The burial of Mardonius, and of the fallen Greeks.*

25 LXXXIV. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ  
 ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπ' ὅτε μὲν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ



ἀτρεκές οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δέ τινας ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν 5 Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι. ἔχει δέ τινα φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. LXXXV. Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληΐην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἐωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακε- 10 δαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας. ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδάνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύν τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἐνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἰλωτες. 15 Οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἀλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλιάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. Τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεις ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες 20 τάφοι, τούτους δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἐκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγυνομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα 25 δεσθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόσκεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

*Eleven days after the battle the Greeks attack Thebes and demand the surrender of the medizers, especially Timagenides and Attaginus. This is refused. Thebes is besieged for twenty days, when at the proposal of*

*Timagenides the medizing party are given up, except Attaginus who contrives to escape. They are taken to Corinth and put to death.*

- LXXXVI. Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοι σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμη-  
 5 γενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν, ἣν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὥς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς  
 10 ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. LXXXVII. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινομένοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε· “Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι  
 15 “Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ “ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὦν “ἡμέων εἵνεκεν γῆ ἢ Βοιωτὴ πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, “ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρητίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας “ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δώμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν  
 20 “γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν, οὐδὲ μῦνοι ἡμεῖς), “εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθῶς δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς “ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην παρέξομεν.” Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὐ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρὸν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκύνοντο πρὸς Πανσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι  
 25 τοὺς ἄνδρας. LXXXVIII. Ὡς δὲ ὠμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρῆσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Πανσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίας, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτί-

ους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἱ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν συμμαχῶν ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. 5

*Artabazus meanwhile with his 40,000 was making his way through Thessaly and Makedonia pretending to be only the advanced guard of the main army. He arrives at length at Byzantium after losing many of his men in Thrace.*

LXXXIX. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβησι γενόμενα, Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δέ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπὶ τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτεον περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν 10 ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς, ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφί πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτὸς τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατὸς (ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἶετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα), 15 ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγόρευε οὐδὲν, πρὸς τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε· “Ἐγὼ “μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοὶ, ὡς ὁράτε, ἐπείγομαί τε “κατὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἑλὼν ἐς Θρηίκην καὶ σπουδὴν “ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατὰ τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου 20 “μετὰ τῶνδε. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς “αὐτοῦ οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμός “ἐστι. τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε. “οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει.” Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπας ἀπῆλυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ 25



Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηϊκῶν τε κατα-  
5 κοπέοντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῶ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι.

## NOTES.

[For information as to persons and places see *Historical and Geographical Index*. References are by chapter and line of page. G. refers to Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*, 1882: **App.**, to the *Appendix on the Ionic dialect*: Clyde, to Clyde's *Greek Syntax*, 1870.]

### CHAPTER I.

1. 1. **Μαρδόνιος δέ.** The connecting particle **δέ** continues the narrative from the last book, in which Herodotos had related how Mardonius having wintered in Thessaly (8, 133), early in the next year (B.C. 479) sent Alexander of Macedon to Athens, as being a friend and 'benefactor' of the Athenians (136), with an offer as from the king that, if they would make alliance with him, he would concede their independence; would allow them to possess their own territory and even add to it; and would restore such of the temples as he had burnt (140). This offer Alexander urged them to accept, while the Spartans in alarm sent an embassy to dissuade them (141, 2). The Athenians answered Alexander by bidding him tell Mardonius that 'as long as the sun went its course they would make no terms with Xerxes'. Alexander therefore had nothing for it but to return with this uncompromising message to Mardonius.

3. **ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας** 'to invade Attica', cf. p. 10, l. 26 and p. 8, l. 15. **οὐκὸν δὲ ἐκάστοτε γίγνοιτο τούτους παρελάμβανε**, 'and in whatever place he arrived from time to time he compelled the people to join his army'. The imperf. **παρελάμβανε** expresses the repetition of the action. **τούτους** is the apodosis to **οὐκὸν**, which = **εἰς οὓσιν**. For the mood of **γίγνοιτο** (answering to the imperf. indic.) in the conditional relative sentence, see G. § 233.

5. οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν 'so far from repenting of their former proceedings actually exerted themselves all the more to egg the Persian on'. This refers to the action of Thorax of Larissa and his brothers, who had sent to invite Xerxes originally to the invasion of Greece (7,6), though their action had not been approved by the Thessalians generally (7, 172).

8. φεύγοντα 'in his flight', that is after Salamis, when Xerxes retreated to the bridge over the Hellespont.

## CHAPTER II.

11. κατελάμβανον 'tried to persuade Mardonius to stop'. The incomplete action expressed by the imperfect.

13. ἐπιτηδεύετος, App. A. III. (4). οὐδὲ ἔων 'and they argued against his going'.

15. καταστρέφεται. This is Herodotos' invariable construction after ποιεῖν ὅπως [see 1, 8; 5, 109 etc.] and the mood and tense remain the same though it is or. obliq. The MSS. have καταστρέψεται, κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν 'by force'.

16. οἱ περ καὶ πάρος ταῦτ' ἐγίνωσκον 'in such numbers as were united on the previous occasion', i.e. at Salamis. For the relative οἵπερ=ὅσοι cp. a similar use of οἵτινες in Xen. *Oec.* 4, 5 εἰς ὁπόσους δεῖ διδόναι τροφήν ἱππέας...οἵτινες...τῶν ἀρχομένων ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται κρατεῖν. Though this is reported speech the indic. ἐγίνωσκον is used on the *dramatic* principle often followed in Greek or. obliq. of employing the actual word which the speaker would have used, p. 3, l. 27.

2 1. περιγίνεσθαι in the sense of 'to get the better of' governs the genitive, cf. 1, 207 ἐκείνων περιγίνεσθαι. We must explain the construction in one of two ways.

(1) We must suppose an anacoluthon, or breach in the construction, and that the speaker meant to end with some such word as καταπολεμεῖν or νικᾶν, but shrunk from so strong an expression. To call Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας an accusative absolute is only another way of saying that there is an anacoluthon.

(2) Or we must regard the accusative after περιγίνεσθαι as a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν, according to the sense, as though περιγίνεσθαι being used for νικᾶν or καταπολεμεῖν took the construction of these verbs. L. and Sc. give two instances of an acc. with περιγίνεσθαι, but neither of them is quite parallel, cp. p. 52, l. 2.



The Second of these two explanations is that which I myself believe to be right.

3. *ξέαις* 'you will control'. Stein however interprets *comperta habebis* 'you will discover'.

4. *πέμπε χρήματα...καταστρέψαι*. The advice of the Thebans gave only too true a picture of the state of things in Greece. Not only was it true that nearly all Greeks were open to a bribe, and that as in the later time of Philip any city could be taken into which an ass laden with gold could climb; but also in every city, even in Athens itself, there was a medizing party, consisting of those who hoped to get personal supremacy by means of the Persian support, or perhaps in some cases of those who, seeing the organization of the kingdom by Darius, believed that the unity so sorely wanted by Hellas could only be obtained by having recourse to an outside controlling power. And it is known from Plutarch (*Aristid.* XIII. quoted by Mr Blakesley) that in the very hour of their country's extremity there was a meeting of Athenian men of high rank and straitened circumstances, at Plataea, who resolved to strike a blow at the democracy, and in case of failure to submit to Persia. From Diodorus (XI. 28) it appears that Mardonius did take this advice so far as to send bribes to certain leading men in the cities of the Peloponnese.

6. *ἐνθεύτεν*, App. A. I. (2).

### CHAPTER III.

9, 10. *ἐνέστακτο* 'had been instilled into him', a poetical word. Cp. Hom. *Od.* 2, 271 *εἰ δὲ τοι σοῦ πατὴρ ἐνέστακται μένος ἧψ', Ἦ.* 19, 39 *Πατρόκλῳ δ' αὖτ' ἀμβροσίην καὶ νέκταρ ἐρυθρὸν στάξε κατὰ ῥινῶν. ἀγνωμωνσύνη* 'obstinate arrogance'.

11. *πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων* 'by a chain of torch signals on the islands'. For omission of article before *νήσων* cp. 3, 96 'Island Greece' without defining the particular Islands.

The use of beacons and torches as signals was very ancient. We first hear of their being employed as a signal sent up from a beleaguered town at nightfall to the neighbours to come to the rescue—in Homer *Il.* 18, 207—213. Definite intelligence could be conveyed by them, for the capture of the Greek out-look ships off Skiathos was conveyed to the Greeks at Artemisium by

this means (Her. 7, 182); and it will occur at once to us that Aeschylus, when he described the news of the fall of Troy being brought by this means, had himself fought in the Persian wars, and must often have watched the flash of the beacon fire, conveying good news or warnings of danger [*Ag.* 273—300]. Later on, in B.C. 429, the Athenians are warned of the approach of a hostile fleet from Megara by means of beacon fires [*φρυκτοὶ πολέμοι* Thucyd. 2, 94, 1]; and in B.C. 428 we find that in order to render unintelligible the besiegers' fire signals, the besieged Plataeans purposely raised a number at the same time [Th. 3, 22, 9]. Information could be given to the enemy by this means by a traitor in the camp, for we hear of a certain Athenian being put to death by Lamachos during the Sicilian expedition for this crime (*παραφρυκτωρευόμενος ληφθείς*), Lysias 13, § 67. But still these fire signals had two disadvantages, (1) they could only be used at night, (2) they could only convey certain definite pieces of intelligence, as previously agreed upon between the parties; and therefore news of unexpected events could not be distinctly conveyed. For the first difficulty we find traces of the practice of flashing signals, of which the earliest recorded instance perhaps is the polished shield, said to have been held up to inform the Persians that the Athenian troops had left Athens (Her. 6, 121), and later writers on Greek military affairs mention the use of mirrors and broad blades (*σπάθης συχνὰ κινουμένης*) for this purpose [see p. 6 of a fragment of a Greek military writer, published by K. K. Müller, 1882]. To remedy the second inconvenience we hear of two successive improvements [Polyb. 10, 43—7].

First, a contrivance by Aeneas Tacticus, supposed to have been a contemporary of Xenophon. The parties to signal to each other were to have each an earthenware vessel full of water, in which floated a flat cork with a long stick marked off by broad rings, in each of which were certain words such as 'cavalry', 'heavy-armed', 'ships', 'corn', etc. On the raising of a torch on one side, the other side answered by a torch, and then both sides set the water running (care being taken that all conditions should be exactly the same). The corks with their sticks of course gradually sunk in the vessels, and when the ring containing the requisite word for the message reached the brim, the signaller raised a torch, the water was immediately stopped by the recipient, and he could thus read in his stick the message intended. But this, though admitting more variety, was still open to the objection that the number of possible messages was limited; for all possible events could not be thought of before, and written on the sticks. A system, however, was invented by Cleoxenos and Democleitos, and improved by Polybios himself, for spelling words much on the same principle as modern telegraphy. He divided the alphabet into five groups:

	I	2	3	4	5
1.	α	ζ	λ	π	φ
2.	β	η	μ	ρ	χ
3.	γ	θ	ν	σ	ψ
4.	δ	ι	ξ	τ	ω
5.	ε	κ	ο	υ	

If the signaller wanted to spell the word *Κρήτες*, he would raise two torches on the left, to show that the letter wanted (*κ*) was in the second group, and five torches on the right to show that it was the 5th of that group; *ρ* would want four on the left, and two on the right, and so on. Mardonius had apparently arranged a series of torch-signallers from island to island of the Cyclades (though Rawlinson thinks that it was more probably by Mt Athos, the route of the signal fires in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, for Delos was not in Persian hands 8, 132), having concerted beforehand the meaning to be attached to the signal as to the capture of Athens; but it does not appear that he sent the message when he took possession: the experience of the last year doubtless warned him that, while the people were still unconquered, the possession of the empty town was of little use.

12. οὐδὲ τότε 'on this occasion neither', i.e. any more than Xerxes had done in the year before.

13. ἀπικόμενος, App. A. i. 4.

14. ἐν τε Σαλαμῖνι. The people seem on this occasion to have been content to go to Salamis, as being safe now that the Greek fleet commanded the sea. The year before they had gone to Troezen and Aegina, as well as Salamis [8, 41. Plut. *Them.* 10].

15. τὸ ἄστυ 'the town', properly used of the town as composed of buildings, πόλις being a town as composed of citizens, though the latter word is used in both senses. Later τὸ ἄστυ was used for the 'upper town' as distinguished from the Peiraeus [see Thucyd. 2, 94, 2; Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 1], and also in the sense in which we use the word Capital. It is designedly used here, for Mardonius took the bare walls with no one within them.

17. δεκάμηνος. That is from Metageitton i.e. Aug.—Sept. 480 B.C. to Skirophorion i.e. June—July 479 B.C.

ἐπιστρατήην, App. B. a. i.

## CHAPTER IV.

20. τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους 'the same proposals', namely that they should retain their autonomy and have increased territory if they would come to terms with Persia [8, 140].



22. *προέχων οὐ φίλως γνώμας* 'though he knew beforehand that their feelings were hostile', *ἐλπίσας δὲ* 'but having conceived the hope'. The change of tense is to be observed. The hope was conceived once for all before the message was sent, his consciousness of the feelings of the Athenians was continuous. This meaning of *προέχων* is no doubt peculiar; it usually means (1) to be superior to anyone in anything, (2) to be eminent, (3) to project; but Mr Blakesley's translation 'putting forward' is equally contrary to usage, Thucydides always employing the middle in that sense (1, 140, 7; 3, 68, 2); and it is quite in keeping with Herodotos' style to use *ἔχω* in the sense more common in poetry of 'to know', and then to compound it with a preposition.

23—5. *σφέας*, App. C. II. 1. *ὑπήσειν* [App. A. 1. 4] 'would abate of their obstinate arrogance', cp. 3, 52 *ὑπεῖς τῆς ὀργῆς*. *ἔωυτῷ*, App. B. 3. b (3).

## CHAPTER V.

3 2. *βουλευτέων* [App. C. 1. 1st decl.] 'one of the members of the Boulè'.

4. *ἐξενεῖκαι* 'to bring the proposal before the people', i.e. in an ecclesia. The proper function of the Boulè was to prepare all measures for decision by the ecclesia; it had no power to decide such a matter itself; and though the whole people were in a kind of temporary exile in Salamis constitutional forms appear to be maintained.

*σφι* = *αὐτοῖς*, App. C. II. 1 (4).

6. *εἴτε δὴ* 'whether as was alleged' (*δὴ*). For the irregularity of a participle and verb being thus connected Stein compares 1, 19.

9. *κατέλευσαν* 'stoned to death', *κατὰ* in sense of completion.

14. *ῆϊσαν*, App. D. IV. f.

*αὐτοκελές* 'spontaneously', though one woman urged another, the general effect was of a spontaneous action on the part of the women.

Some difficulty has been felt as to the occurrence itself, because Demosthenes [*de Cor.* 296] relates a similar anecdote, but places it before Salamis, and makes the name of the victim Kyrtilos; and Demosthenes is followed by Cicero [*de Off.* 3, 11].

Various explanations have been offered. Thirlwall supposed the two names to belong to the same person, a thing quite unusual at

Athens, while the explanation leaves unaccounted for the difference of times in the two stories: Valcknaer supposes both stories true, in which he is followed by Rawlinson: Grote rejects the idea of the *two* similar occurrences and elects to stand by Herodotos: Baehr, Abicht and Stein notice the coincidence but leave it unexplained. The period to which Herodotos assigns the incident seems much the more likely one, as we hear of no such negociation before Salamis; and such a confusion as to time was quite possible in an Orator speaking more than 100 years after the event. But it appears from Lykurgos, *contra Leocr.* 122, that a decree of the people condemning (to ἀτιμία) the relations of a man whom the Boulè had at once put to death in Salamis for this offence was in existence. Such a formal proceeding does not tally with the *lynching* of Lykidas and his family, and may therefore be supposed to refer to Kyrtilos, though Lykurgos mentions no name. In times of imminent risk it was natural and inevitable that some restraint should be put on individual freedom of speech; thus we find that when Lysander in B.C. 405 was beleaguering Athens, a senator called Archedestratos was thrown into prison for proposing to surrender [Xen. *Hell.* 2, 2, 15], and we can understand the strong measure taken by the Boulè and confirmed by the people (ψήφισμα) in the case of Kyrtilos. The case of Lykidas was one of mere popular excitement, and death by stoning was generally the result in a camp, and Salamis was practically a camp at the time [see 5, 38, and comp. Soph. *Aj.* 254, where the chorus fear this fate for Ajax].

16. κατὰ δὲ. For the *tnesis* see G. § 191, note 3, p. 241. Clyde § 51. Cp. 8, 33.

## CHAPTER VI.

18. προσεδέκοντο, App. A. 1. 1.

19. οἱ δὲ 'they', i.e. the Athenians. For the article used as a demonstrative see G. § 143. The δέ which to the Greek ear is suitable after the ἕως μὲν cannot be represented in English.

20. οἱ μὲν the Peloponnesians.

οὕτω δὴ 'under these circumstances it was that'. See Index.

21. καὶ δὴ 'already', 'actually', cp. c. 18 and Soph. *Aj.* 49 καὶ δὴ 'πὶ δίσσας ἦν στρατηγίσω πύλαις.

24. μεμψομένους τοῖσι Δ. 'to reproach the Lakedaemonians with the fact that'. The verb μέμφομαι is found in nearly every

possible construction, *acc.* and *gen.* of thing, *dat.* or *gen.* of person; with single *acc.* or *dat.* of pers.; or with *gen.* of the thing. Here the construction is *dat.* of pers., and for the *acc.* of the thing the clause *ὅτι περιεῖδον κ.τ.λ.* stands. Clyde § 75 E.

26. *σφέων*, App. C. II. 1 (4).

27. *ὑπέσχετο* a *dramatic* indic. as usual in reported speech, see p. 1, l. 12 *ἐγίνωσκον*.

28. *προεῖπαι* an infin. of purpose correlative with the fut. part. *μεμφομένους* 'and (they sent them) to openly state'. *ἀμυνεῦσι* fut. App. D. III. 4.

- 4 1. *ὥς καὶ αὐτοὶ τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὖρ*. 'that they too would find some means of avoiding the danger'. This is the invariable meaning of this poetical word in Homer, and there is no need to translate it 'defence' here. The threat is made intentionally vague, and left to the Lakedaemonians to interpret it as referring to a possible acceptance of the terms offered by Mardonius, or to the old threat of Themistokles of placing all their people and goods on board their ships and seeking a new home in Italy, leaving the Spartans to defend themselves [8, 61—62]. For the duplication of the conjunction *ὅτι...ὥς* Stein compares 3, 71 *ἵστε ὅτι ἦν ὑπερπέση ἡ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ταῦτα κατερέω*.

## CHAPTER VII.

2. *οἱ γὰρ δὴ Δ.* 'Now the fact was that the Lakedaemonians were engaged in the celebration of the Hyakinthia (see Hist. Ind.), but at the same time they were building the wall across the Isthmus, and it was now so nearly completed as to be up to the battlements'. This wall, of which the remains are still traceable, was built at a point about seven miles E. of Corinth. For similar conduct of the Spartans before Marathon see 6, 106.

5. *καὶ δὴ*, see above p. 3, l. 21.

The clauses of this paragraph from *οἱ γὰρ* to *ἐλάμβανε* are woven together in a very intricate manner by the use of the particles. The changes of subject in *ὄρταζον* and *ἦν*, though joined by *τε—καί*, and of *ἐτείχεον...ἐλάμβανε*, are awkward, but lead to no confusion. The system is this, *τε—καί* (*δὲ* amplifying the second clause), *δέ* introducing a third heading (amplified by *καὶ δὴ*).

7. *ἀγόμενοι* 'bringing with them'; the middle properly expresses the action of those 'who cause to come', and who only metaphori-



cally can be said 'to bring'. *ἀγοντες* would be 'forcing to come', 'dragging'.

8, 9. ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους 'into the presence of the Ephors'. Cp. ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν c. 5. For 'Ephors' see *Histor. Index*.

§ 1. 1. 11. βασιλεύς 'the king of Persia' properly without definite article, the ὁ *Μήδων* is superfluous, but the messengers are delivering a formal speech.

τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δέ 'in the first place', 'in the second place'. Cp. p. 17, l. 19.

12. ἐπ' ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ 'on terms of complete equality and independence', the phrase was usual in treaties between two states, see that between Sparta and Argos in *Thucyd.* 5, 79; and cf. id. 4, 105, 2; 2, 27, 1. The one word seems always to suggest the other, see id. 2, 89, 2; and they are used to describe the relations of fellow-citizens as well as those between states, *Dem. Mid.* 551.

13. ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης is a treaty clause also, which in the treaties in *Thucyd.* appears as μήτε τέχνη μήτε μηχανῇ μηδεμιᾷ [5, 18, 4; 47, 2].

17. ἀπειπάμεθα 'we refused', elsewhere in *Herod.* this word has an accusative, see 1, 205; 4, 120; 6, 100. The middle form ἀπειπάμην is confined to Ionic and later Attic.

19. κερδαλέωτερον...μᾶλλον ἢ περ. This pleonasm, or repetition of a comparative word, is a common idiom in Greek, especially with temporal comparatives πρότερον, πρὶν, etc.; *Clyde* § 92; cp. 7, 143 αἰρετώτερα...μᾶλλον. On the other hand we find ἢ after words in which a comparative sense is only indirectly implied. See on p. 17, l. 7.

20. οὐ μὲν οὐδέ... 'no! and we will not either etc.'

21. ἐκόντες εἶναι 'at any rate with our own consent', cp. 7, 104, 164; 8, 30. In all these cases (exc. 7, 164) the phrase is used in a negative sentence.

τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον 'this sincerity of our conduct', κίβδηλος = 'debased', 'spurious', cf. *Aristoph. R.* 721 τοῦτοις (νομισμασι) οὐ κεκίβδηλευμένοις. *Herod.* uses it in the metaphorical sense of 'not clear', 'ambiguous', 1, 66, 75; 5, 91.

22. νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας 'is distributed among', 'affects'. Cf. *Plat. Protag.* 12 ἐπὶ πάντας νέμειν αἰδῶ καὶ δίκην.

§ 2. 1. 25. φρόνημα 'high resolution'. Cp. 8, 144. In Attic it usually means 'pride'; for the meaning of 'thought' cf. p. 35, l. 15, *Thuc.* 2, 61, 3: and for a meaning very like the present cf.

Thuc. 5, 40, 3 ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσασθαι 'entertaining lofty ideas of becoming the leading state in the Peloponnese'. καὶ διότι 'and because' is coordinate with ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεμάθετε: the words ὅτι...Ἑλλάδα are explanatory of ἡμέτερον φρόνημα.

27. ἐλαυνόμενον 'which is being built'. ἐν τέλει ἐστί 'is in the act of being completed'. In c. 8 Herodotos says the wall is πρὸς τέλει. The first is the more general expression which without going into detail describes the wall as in an advanced stage; in the second Herodotos tells the exact fact that it was not finished, but was nearly so. καὶ δὴ 'of course', 'at once'.

29. τὸν Πέρσιν ἀντιώσεσθαι elsewhere in Herodotos this verb is constructed with dative [1, 76; 7, 102, 139; 8, 100, p. 4, l. 29]. On the other hand ἀντιάξειν is constructed with the acc. [2, 141; 4, 118], and the sense is rather 'to meet' than simply 'to oppose', as in other places, and thus the motion implied justifies the accusative.

5 2. μὴ λύνουσι. This is one of the words whose usage is confined to the poets and later prose, but which Herodotos employs several times [5, 84; 7, 229]. ὅτι τάχος 'with all speed', cp. ὡς τάχος, 5, 106. ὅσον τάχος, Soph.

ἐπιτηδέως 'properly', in other places it means 'carefully' (1, 108), but the adverb here follows the sense in which the adjective ἐπιτήδεος is used in other places, e.g. 4, 158, and just below.

4. ὡς ἂν...δεκώμεθα 'with a view to our meeting him', the subj. construction *dramatically* after historical ἐκέλευσαν...ἐκπέμπειν, which is treated as equivalent to direct imperative ἐκπέμπετε. ὡς ἂν is a combination more common in Homer, but still it does occur in Attic authors. Cp. 8, 7. This final ὡς might stand without ἂν, which seems to add little that is appreciable to its meaning beyond the feeling so frequently dictating Greek idiom, viz. the desire to put everything as hypothetically and as little positively as possible. G. § 216, 2. See on p. 34, l. 1.

5. ἐπειδὴ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτῆς 'since we missed holding Boeotia', the word implies that the loss of Boeotia was a result of a mistaken or backward policy.

6. ἐμμάχασσθαι. Note the aorist of single action, 'to fight the battle in'.

## CHAPTER VIII.

10. ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας 'for a space of ten days', cp. ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας, ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη [Thucyd. 2, 25; 3, 68]; see p. 40, l. 13.

12. ἐτείχεον 'they were carrying on the building of the wall across'.

14. ἀπικομένου 'Αλεξάνδρου. The visit of Alexander to Athens had been early in the year, before Mardonius had broken up his winter quarters in Thessaly (c. 1). It was now June, for the Hyakinthia were coming to an end.

17. ὄρην 'care', 'regard', cf. Lat. *cur-a*; and the compounds πυλωρός, θυρωρός, ὀλιγωρεῖν: in an inscription (C. I. 2554) we find ὠρεῖον for a fort or guard-house.

20. οὐκῶ, App. A. 1. 3. ἀπέτετείχιστο 'the line of the wall had not yet been completed right across the isthmus'. Cf. 6, 36 ἀποτείχισας τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Χερσονήσου.

## CHAPTER IX.

24. καταστάσιος [App. C. 1. 3rd decl.] 'audience', cf. 8, 141, and καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, 3, 46.

26. ξείνων 'resident aliens', such as in Athens would be called μέτοικοι. The presence of foreigners in Sparta was much less common than in Athens, and in c. 35 Herodotos says that he knew only one instance of such persons being admitted to citizenship, namely Tisamenos and his brother. Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 1414. Cf. p. 23, l. 23.

1. μὴ ἀρθμίων, 'if the A. are not on good terms with you' 6 [R. ἀρ-, cp. ἀραρίσκω, ἄρθρον, etc.], so ἄρθμια 'peaceful relations', 6, 83, cp. 7, 101.

3. κλισιάδες [or as some would write κλεισιάδες from κλείω] 'folding gates' (the *bipatentes* of Vergil *Aen.* 2, 330] derived from the same root as κλίνω. The word does not seem to be used by any other Greek author until the period of late Attic (Plutarch). The reference is no doubt to gates with folding wings, cf. Hom. *Il.* 21, 531, where Priam orders the town gates to be held open for the flying Trojans, πεπταμένas ἐν χειρὶ πύλας ἔχετε, cp. ib. 538. The metaphor has been exemplified by a reference to St Paul's language (1 *Cor.* xvi. 9) 'a great door has been opened to me'. We may also compare Vergil's *patet isti janua leto* [*Aen.* 2, 661]. For the form ἀναπεπτάται, see App. D. 11. a (2).

## CHAPTER X.

8. ἀπιγμένοισι, App. A. 1, 4, and C. 1. 2nd decl. ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, for the Athenian envoys were accompanied by envoys from Megara and Plataea, c. 7.



νυκτὸς ἔτι 'before daybreak'. Gen. of the time within which a thing happens. G. § 179.

9, 10. καὶ ἐπὶ...εἰλώτων. These words are not found in some MSS., and Wesseling therefore would remove them, as having been inserted to explain the statement in ch. 28, that there were 5000 Spartans and 35000 Helots at Plataea. But Plutarch (*Aristid.* 10), who was copying Herodotos, has almost the same words, and they probably ought to stand. The gen. εἰλώτων is from εἴλωσ, cp. εἴλωτα, 7, 229, and εἴλωτας, 6, 81, εἴλωτες, 9, 80. But the other form also occurs, viz. εἰλώτης, -ου, or -εο, εἰλωτέων see p. 18, l. 29; 6, 58, 75, 80; 9, 28.

11. ἡ ἡγεμονίη 'the right of leading the army', i.e. as king. Since B.C. 506—5 it had been a law in Sparta that both kings should not go out with the army at the same time [*Her.* 5, 75]. Now that Pleistarchos, the king of the senior branch, was incapacitated by infancy from going out on a campaign, his position seems to have passed entire to his cousin and guardian, Pausanias.

16. τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δέμασαν 'that had built the wall', i.e. across the Isthmus, which is thus spoken of as completed.

18, 19. θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ 'as he was offering sacrifice in regard to the Persian invader'. For the kings at Sparta were especially the national priests: they were 'priests of Zeus Uranios and Zeus Lakedaemonios, and offered public sacrifices to Apollo on every new moon and seventh day'. In times of war the king sacrificed first at home, and again on the frontier. Such a sacrifice would be attended by a μάντις to declare the omens as presented by the victim in regard to the measures to be taken against Persia [*Xen. Hell.* 3, 3, 4, *de repub. Lac.* 13].

19. ὁ ἥλιος ἀμυνρώθη 'the sun was darkened'. According to the calculation of astronomers the Solar eclipse of B.C. 479 was on Oct. 2. If this be so, the word ἀμυνρώθη must only refer to some sudden overclouding of the sun at the critical moment of sacrifice, which was interpreted as a bad omen.

When Herodotos described an eclipse of the sun before he did not use this word, but said, ὁ ἥλιος ἐκλιπὼν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔδρην ἀφανὴς ἦν οὐδ' ἐπινεφέλων ἐόντων αἰθρῆς τε τὰ μάλιστα, ἀντὶ ἡμέρης τε νύξ ἐγένετο (7, 37), or as in 1, 64 τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι, which eclipse he also calls a μεταλλαγή ἡμέρης and a μεταβολή. An eclipse was looked upon as a bad omen, preventing any active operations for a time,—in the case of an eclipse of the moon, until the new moon, as in the famous

case of Nikias refusing to move his army in Sicily [Thucyd. 7, 51, 4]. Cf. Thucyd. 2, 28; 1, 23, 4 where the frequent occurrences of eclipses and earthquakes are mentioned as foretelling the troubles of the Peloponnesian war; and the phenomena which Aristophanes connects with the election of Kleon as strategus

ἡ σελήνη δ' ἐξέλιπε τὰς ὁδοὺς · ὁ δ' ἥλιος  
τὴν θρυαλλίδ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν εὐθέως ξυνελκύσας  
οὐ φανεῖν ἔφασκεν ὑμῖν εἰ στρατηγήσει Κλέων.

20. **προσαιορέεται...αὐτῆς.** 'Pausanias selected as a colleague, Euryanax, son of Dorieus, who was of the same family as himself', i.e. of the same branch of the Royal family. If this Dorieus was the second son of Anaxandridas, who fell in Sicily [5, 46] Euryanax was first cousin to Pausanias [see Index, DORIEUS]. So near a relationship seems likely to have been indicated by some less vague expression, but perhaps Herod. wishes mainly to emphasize the fact that Pausanias did not select from the other Royal branch. The other king, Leotychides, was at this time in command of the Greek fleet at Delos, whence it was to go to Mykale [9, 90; Thucyd. 1, 89]. Pausanias selecting his own colleague is in accordance with the rule in Sparta, where the king (whom Pausanias represented in all his prerogatives) though he could not proclaim war, had absolute authority in conducting it.

## CHAPTER XI.

24. ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τ. ἐφ. Cp. p. 4, l. 10.

ἐν νόφ' δὴ ἔχοντες 'intending as they imagined' (δῆ); the δὴ shews the writer's sense that the ambassadors were acting under a false impression. See Index s. v. δῆ.

25. καὶ αὐτοί 'they themselves too', i.e. as well as the Spartan army which had actually started.

27, 8. Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε 'keep your Hyakinthia and indulge in all the amusements it brings'. The τε and καὶ indicate an hendiadys. Stein and Abicht both see in παίζετε direct allusion to the dancing and singing in the festival. But the word seems used with more general reference, and is an expression of impatient contempt for the attention given to such a thing at an hour of such danger, and is not the way the religious Greek would describe a sacred festival in ordinary circumstances. For the Hyakinthia see Historical Index.

1. χήτι, App. C. 1. 3rd decl. (1).

6. ὁκοῖον ἄν τι...ἐκβαλῇ for the ordinary fut. indic. ἐκβήσεται. This use of a subjunctive with ἄν and a relative in a dependent question is meant to express the vagueness and uncertainty of the result, and is an Epic use. Stein quotes *Odyss.* 23, 139 ἐνθα δ' ἔπειτα φράσσομεθ' ὅττι κε κέρδος Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίζῃ. But even in Epic Greek the presence of κε (ἄν) seems unusual, see *Monro, Homeric Grammar*, p. 201.

7. ἐπ' ὄρκου 'with an oath' = ἐπομόσαντες, cp. 8, 5, Stein. It seems to arise from a confusion between the oath and that by which the oath is sworn,—the victim; cp. *Dem.* 642 δμνυσι...στάς ἐπὶ τῶν τομῶν.

καὶ δῆ, see on p. 3, l. 21.

9. ξείνους γὰρ...τοὺς βαρβάρους 'for they (the Spartans) used to say "strangers" instead of "barbarians"'. Herodotos remarks this as a peculiarity of the Spartan mode of speech, which is further illustrated by the expression of Amompharētos in c. 53. It does not appear that this use of the word was prompted by any desire of avoiding offence; in fact the word Βάρβαροι (=non-Greek) was of comparatively late introduction, [it only occurs once in Homer in the compound βαρβαρόφωνοι as an epithet of the Karians, *Il.* 2, 867, cp. *Thucyd.* 1, 3, 4] and may not have been adopted by the conservative Spartans.

12. τὴν ταχίστην sc. ὁδόν.

13. τῶν περιόικων...πεντακισχίλιοι for the Perioeki see Index. In c. 28 the Lakedaemonian force is reckoned at 10,000 (i.e. 5000 Spartans and 5000 Perioeki), together with 35,000 Helots attending the 5000 Spartans. But from c. 29 it appears that the 5000 Perioeki had also a Helot apiece attending on them; the whole force would therefore be 50,000. From 7,234 it appears that the whole number of Spartan citizens at this time was about 8000. The 5000 therefore represented two-thirds of the available force, which was the regular contingent sent out by a Greek state, see *Thucyd.* 2, 10, 2; 2, 47, 2; 3, 54, 5.

## CHAPTER XII.

16. Ἀργεῖοι. The hostility of the Argives to Sparta caused them to refrain from helping the Greeks, and, as was believed, to make an actual alliance with Xerxes. The real state of the case in regard to this alliance seems however to have been a matter of con-



siderable doubt, and Herodotos refuses to decide definitely about it, see 7, 148—152.

18. τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων. The *hemerodromi* were professional runners, or couriers, as opposed to those who trained for the long races in the games δολιχόδρομοι [Plato *Prot.* 335 E]; one of these professional runners did the distance between Sparta and Athens [between 140 and 150 miles] in two days; see Her. 6, 105—6. Livy 31, 24 is quoted by various edd. *hemerodromos vocant Graeci ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium*, where one is said to reach Athens from the Euripos (more than 50 miles) by midnight after the morning of his start. αὐτοί *sponte* 'of their own accord' (St.).

20—4. σχήσιν μὴ ἐξίεναι 'that they would prevent their going out', but below at l. 24 ἴσχειν...μὴ οὐκ ἐξίεναι because of the negative οὐ δύνατοι, see G. § 263 and note. ἡ νεότης that is 'the men of military age', οἱ νεοί, as Thuc. uses ἡ δουλεῖα for οἱ δοῦλοι.

25. τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος is more than merely εὖ βουλεύεσθε, it is 'see that you succeed in taking proper measures'. Cp. Xen. *Oecon.* 7, 8 εὐξάμην ἐμέ τε τυγχάνειν διδάσκοντα καὶ ἐκείνην μαθάνουσαν τὰ βέλτιστα 'that I might succeed in teaching and she in learning'. Stein tr. 'möge es dir glücken einen guten Rat zu finden', and compares 8, 101 συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος.

## CHAPTER XIII.

3. ἀνεκώχευε [ἀνακωχή, ἀνοχή] is properly a naval word, and 8 elsewhere in Her. is transitive 'to make to ride at anchor', 6, 116; 7, 100, 168. Cp. 7, 36. Here we must understand ἐωντόν, 'he was refraining himself', 'was pausing'.

7. τὸν πάντα λόγον 'the whole state of the case'. Cp. 1, 116 ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον 'he declared the true state of the case'.

8. ὑπέξεχώρεε 'he began to take measures for evacuating the country'.

9—11. καὶ εἴ κού τι...συχώσας 'after throwing down and reducing to a ruinous heap every piece of the town walls, or of private or sacred building that had been left standing',—that is all that had been left after the occupation of Xerxes in the previous year [8, 109, 144]. Though Mardonius doubtless did as much mischief as he could in the time, it is not likely that he was able entirely to destroy the town, and Thucydides (1, 89) says that some few houses remained

and some short pieces of the wall. The wall itself was the one anciently erected by Pelasgic builders round the Acropolis, than which Athens seems to have possessed no other until that built after the Persian war, see 5, 64; 6, 137.

The verb *συγχοῦν* (*χόω*) means 'to heap up', and is used of any operations involving the use of earth, cp. *infr. c. 49 τὴν κρήνην συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν*.

12. *ἵππασίμη* 'suited for cavalry'. The only plain of importance in Attica is that in which Athens stands, and that too is arid, dusty, and far from fruitful. We hear how in the Peloponnesian war the cavalry horses got lamed on its hard soil [*ἵπποι ἀπεχωλοῦντο ἐν γῇ ἀποκρότῳ*, Thuc. 7, 27, 5]; much more would this have been the case with the far more numerous cavalry of Mardonius.

13. *ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν* 'except by defiles'. Of the passes from Attica to Boeotia by Dryoskephale and Phyle, both of which were steep and difficult, the former was approached from Eleusis (see Index), the latter was the direct road from Athens. The third pass was by Dekelea and Oropos and was the easiest of the three, but still involved a steep ascent of Parnes (see Index s. v. *DEKELEA*). Mardonius knew that a defeat in Attica would be the signal for the Northern Greeks, who only medized from fear, to block up these passes.

15. *ἐς τὰς Θήβας* 'to the Thebaid' cf. p. 1, l. 3.

15, 16. *πρὸς πόλιν τε φιλή...ἵππασίμη* 'near a friendly city and a district suited for cavalry'; the sense would perhaps be improved by adopting Schweigh.'s reading *ἐν χώρῃ* or Stein's *ἐν χώρῳ*, but *πρὸς* indicates not the place of actual encampment, but the district 'near' it. For *πόλιν* see App. C. 1. 3rd Decl. (2).

## CHAPTER XIV.

16. *Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπέξεχώρει* 'so then M. began his measures for evacuating Attica'. *μὲν* marks the apposition of the clause with the next, *ἥδη δὲ κ.τ.λ.*: *ὑποστρέψας δὲ* (l. 20) resumes the thread of the story from l. 11.

18. *πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιήν* 'that another army consisting of 1000 Spartans had arrived as an advanced guard as far as Megara'. It is no doubt right to read *πρόδρομον*, instead of *-ος*, with Schweigh., but the real difficulty of the sentence is *ἄλλην*,

A part of an army detached to go to the front can not be called 'another army'; and therefore the only meaning that can be attached to ἄλλην is that Mardonius having heard of the starting of the host from Sparta by means of the Argive message (c. 12) he or his messenger, thinking that they could not yet have got so far, thought these 1000 men were a separate and unsupported expeditionary force, which might safely be attacked.

20. θέλων, εἴ κως τούτους πρώτον ἔλοι is a compressed sentence for θέλων τούτους ἐλεῖν εἴ κως κ.τ.λ. Cp. 6, 52 βουλομένων εἴ κως ἀμφότεροι γενοῖατο βασιλείες.

21—2. ἡ ἵππος 'the cavalry', a collective noun, always with singular termination, cp. ἵππος χίλιη 7, 41. κατιππάσατο, 'over-ran'. Thus a verb can be formed from other kinds of troops, cp. Arist. *Ach.* 160 καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὄλην 'they will over-run with their mercenary troops'.

23. ἐκαστάτῳ τῆς Εὐρώπης 'the farthest point in Europe', so ἐκαστέρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς 8, 60; πρὸς τῆς νυκτός p. 29, l. 3.

τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος 'westward', cp. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν p. 7, l. 5. πρὸς has the sense of 'on the side of', 'in the direction of', cp. πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων 7, 115; τὸ πρὸς Ἑσπέρης 4, 38; καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ Xen. *An.* 4, 3, 26.

## CHAPTER XV.

26. εἴησαν=εἶεν, App. D. iv. d.

οὕτω δὴ 'it was in these circumstances that'. Mardonius took the route through Dekelea as the easiest and the most remote from the Greek forces. The Boeotarchs (see Index) had taken measures to have him guided by a shorter way than the main road which led through Oropos. After leaving Dekelea he was guided to the left so as to cross the Asopos, without ascending to Oropos, opposite Tanagra and near a place called Sphendalè, which must have been close to the frontier of Boeotia, but is nowhere described [see Index].

6. ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους 'he cut down the trees on the land'. 9 Cf. ἔκειρε τὸ τέμενος τῶν θεῶν 'he cut down the grove of the goddesses' 6, 75, cf. 8, 65. τοὺς χώρους refers to enclosures, such as farms, vineyards, olive-yards, plantations.

7. ὑπ' ἀναγκᾶς μεγάλῃς ἐχόμενος 'constrained by overwhelming necessity', cp. 7, 233. ὑπό in such a phrase is not instrumental, but expresses some external determining cause or



consideration, like the Latin *prae*. Cp. Thuc. 2, 8 ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἤπτετο τοῦ πολέμου.

8. ποιήσασθαι 'to have constructed'. The superior is said ποιεῖσθαι, the actual workers are said ποιεῖν. So the Strategoi are said ναυπηγεῖσθαι 'to have ships built', whereas the workmen are said ναυπηγεῖν [1, 27, Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 25, cp. Aristoph. *Plut.* 513]; see also the meaning of ἀπογράφειν and ἀπογράφεσθαι, 7, 100.

There is some little difficulty in understanding the exact position of the Persian army. Tanagra is on the north and Skolos on the south bank of the Asopos; while Mardonius probably lived part of the time at Thebes itself. Herodotos seems to imply that after leaving Tanagra Mardonius recrossed the river to Skolos, and then built his fortified camp, which was intended for his baggage and as a place of refuge at a pinch. Stein accordingly places it south of the river near Skolos, explaining that the army itself was stationed on both sides of the stream. All other commentators, as far as I know, place the fortified camp on the north bank of the river, and it certainly seems most likely that for safety Mardonius would have had the river between it and the enemy. At the same time we may observe that when the Greeks arrived at Erythrae Mardonius had so completely the command of the valley of the Asopos that they did not venture to descend [c. 19]: it is true therefore that his troops occupied both banks of the river. The rapidity with which the Persians retreated to the fortified camp and were followed thither by the Spartans might seem perhaps a reason for agreeing with Stein in placing the camp on the south bank. Yet at this time of the year the Asopos is a mere beck easy to cross; and c. 40 seems decisive in favour of the north bank.

14. μάλιστά κη 'somewhere about', sometimes with *κον*, cp. ἐκ τριῶν ἐτέων *κον* μάλιστα 7, 21.

20. εἶποντο 'came in response to the invitation'.

21. ἐν Θήβησι where Mardonius was probably living until his presence was actually required in the camp.

## CHAPTER XVI.

22. λογίμου ἐς τὰ πρῶτα 'of the highest consideration'. The sense of λόγιμος (for which Her. sometimes uses ἐλλόγιμος, e.g. 2, 176) may be deduced from the meaning of 'consideration' or 'honour', in which λόγος is used in c. 69 οὔτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο 'perished without honour'.

25. Θηβαίων. Rawlinson notices that 'Thebans' is here used loosely for Boeotians, as Thersander, one of the guests, was not a Theban but an Orchomenian.

26. καὶ...κλίνειν 'and that he (Attaginos) placed them'; the οὐ goes closely with χωρίς, not with the infinitive: but see on p. 37, l. 18.

27. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν 'and when they had finished dinner', cf. I, 126. II. 8, 54 ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ (sc. δείπνου) θωρήσσοντο.

28. διαπινόντων 'as they were drinking to each other'. The original meaning of διαπίνειν seems to be 'to drink against each other', like διατοξεύεσθαι, διακοντίζεσθαι (Theoph. Ch. xvii.), διορχεισθαι (Ar. Vespr. 1499), διαείδειν (Theocr. Id. 5, 22). For διαπίνω cf. 5, 18 and Arist. Ach. 751, διαπεινᾶμες ἀεὶ ποττὸ πῦρ where there is a pun between πεινᾶω (to be hungry) and πίνω. And Plat. Rep. IV. 421 ἐπιδέξια πρὸς τὸ πῦρ διαπίνοντας.

'Ελλάδα γλῶσσαν 'Greek language', cp. 6, 98, and 'Ελλὰς πόλις 5, 93; 7, 22.

2. ὁμοτράπεζός τε μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος 'since you have eaten at 10 the same table and joined in the same libation with me'. Eating together was always looked upon as involving a certain mutual obligation; and still more the joining in the σπονδή, as being a religious rite. Stein quotes Plat. Sympr. 176, where not only is a libation poured out after dinner, but a hymn to the god is sung before the guests begin drinking. Plutarch says that sometimes the ceremony was accompanied by the music of the flute [Becker's *Charicles* p. 330].

3. μνημόσυνα...καταλιπέσθαι 'to leave behind me a record of my opinion'. The middle indicates the personal object of the speaker, and is used elsewhere in this phrase: see 6, 169; 7, 226.

12. χρεόν, see App. D. III. (2) noté.

13. ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι 'in high reputation', and so 'in authority'. Cf. 3, 74; 8, 112. It is another poetical word used by Herod.

14. ὃ τι δέει...ἀνθρώπῳ 'what God decrees man cannot avert'. This characteristic fatalism of the East was congenial also to the Greeks, and especially to Herodotos; see I, 91; 3, 43.

17. ἐπόμεθα sc. τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, 'our leaders'.

ἀναγκαίη 'fate' belongs to ἐνδεδεμένοι, see I, 11 ἰκέτευε μή νῦν ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεῖν.

21. λέγοι opt. in reported speech. G. § 242 (b).

22. πρὸς ἀνθρώπους 'publicly', 'before people'. Stein quotes 3, 40 τοῦτο ἀπέβαλε οὕτω ὅπως μηκέτι ἦξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους, and 2, 46. So ὑποσχομένη πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς γενέσθαι 'having promised in the presence of the gods to become', Xen. Oecon. 7, 8. See on p. 36, l. 6.

## CHAPTER XVII.

26. *συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας* i.e. 'joined him in the invasion of Attica' p. 1. l. 3.

27. *τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων* 'who lived in those parts', i.e. the Greeks north of Attica.

28. *ἐμήδιζον γὰρ...ἐκόντες* 'for in their case also, though they medized, it was decidedly against their will'. The Phokians were divided on the subject, some gave in to Mardonius, while others held out, and collecting on the outskirts of Parnassos rendered assistance to the Greeks, inf. c. 31. See also p. 55, l. 16.

11 2. *μετὰ...ὕστερον*, for the pleonasm see on p. 4, l. 17.

2, 5. *ἐς Θήβας* i.e. into the Theban territory, as above p. 8, l. 15; and in p. 1, l. 3, *Ἀθήνας* stood for Attica.

5. *ἀπρίκατο* see App. D. II. (a).

6. *ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν* 'separately', 'by themselves'; cp. c. 38 and *κορυφῇ...κειμένη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς* 8, 32; Thuc. 3, 63, 3 *ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκεῖν*, and the phrases *ἐπὶ τριῶν, τεττάρων στήναι* (Thucyd. 2, 90 etc.). *ἐπὶ* with gen. marks connexion with an object as distinct from all others: thus, after verbs of motion *ἐπὶ* with a genitive defines the direction, as *πλεῖν ἐπὶ Σάμου*: in temporal sentences it defines the period, as *ἐπὶ Κύρου* 'in the time of Kyros', *ἐπ' εἰρήνης* 'during the peace'. Again in *ἐπ' ὅτε* 'wherefore' (Her. 4, 45) the cause is defined; and in the phrases *ἐφ' ἵππου, ἐπὶ νεώς*, the manner of transport.

7. *ἡ ἵππος*. See on c. 14 'the cavalry' opposed to *ἱππέας* 'certain horsemen'.

10. *σφέας*=*αὐτοὺς* i.e. the Phokians. *κατακοντιέει* [App. D. III. note 2] 'shoot them down' with javelins (jereeds), for the Persian cavalry were armed with javelins as well as bows, see c. 49.

14. *διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσάλων* 'because we have been slandered by Thessalians'. For the enmity between these two peoples see Hist. Index s. v. *Phokians*. Herod. says (8, 31) that the reason of the Phokians being backward in medizing was their enmity to the Thessalians; and that the Thessalians retaliated by guiding the Persians into Phokis.

16. *ποιεῦντας*: App. D. III. d. (note 1).

17. *παρέχοντας* sc. *ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς* 'tamely' 'without striking a blow'. So *παρασχόν* is used intransitively 'there being an



opportunity' Thucyd. I, 120, 5; and often in Herod. e.g. I, 9; 5, 98; 9, 122.

18—20. αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ and φόνον ἔρραψαν are both poetical expressions. Stein quotes Aeschyl. *Pers.* 442. *Eum.* 28. Hom. *Odys.* 16, 379 οὐνεκά οἱ φόνον αἰπὺν ἐράπτομεν.

μαθέτω τις...ἐπ' Ἑλλησι ἀνδράσι 'let any and every one of them learn that they are Greeks for whom they contrived destruction'. ἐπὶ is not simply 'against', but as usual with the dat. expresses the accompanying circumstances, 'that it is in the case of Greeks'. τις is used in indefinite threats [see also on p. 30, l. 5], cp. Arist. *Ranae* 628 ἀγορεύω τινὶ ἐμὲ μὴ βασανίζειν ἀθάνατον ὄντ'· εἰ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς σεαυτὸν αἰτιῶ. 'I warn each and every one of you not to torture me who am a God,—if you do, blame yourself for the consequences!' cp. Her. 7, 5 καὶ τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται. Soph. *Aj.* 1138 τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοῦπος ἔρχεται τινί.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

22. ἀπολέοντες, App. D. III. d. (note 2).

καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα 'and they had their javelins actually poised for throwing and their bows stretched for shooting'. διατείνεσθαι=(1) to have oneself on the stretch cf. πῦξ διατεινόμενος Theocr. *Id.* 22, 67 (2) to stretch for oneself, cp. διατεταμένοι τὰς μάστιγας (Polyb. 15, 28, 2). Stein and Abicht seem to refer it only to bows, but the attitude indicated covers both, and from the last chapter we see that it was the ἀκόντια the Greeks feared. For καὶ δὴ see on c. 2.

ἀπήσοντες (ἀφίημι), App. A. I. 4.

28. ὥρεον, App. D. I. e and D. III. 2 (a).

μὴ γένηται 'after words denoting fear the subj. may follow secondary tenses to retain the mood in which the fear originally occurred to the mind' G. § 218.

29. οὕτω δὴ 'when they saw *this*', cf. c. 6.

31. εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι 'if they had any courage in them'. Cp. 7, 16 εἴ τι τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχον 'if it has anything divine in it'. μετέχουσι the present *dramatically* representing the actual thought or words of Mardonius.

3. ἐφάνητε ὄντες 'you showed that you are'.

4. καὶ νῦν 'so now', 'this being the case'. φέρετε cp. p. 26, l. 13.

5. οὔτε ὦν ἐμέ. The force of ὦν thus interposed is that of an assured and ascertained fact 'neither of course myself, nor the king'.

Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 34 πάντα γὰρ τὰ τ' οὖν πάρος | τὰ τ' εἰσέπειτα σὴ κυβερνῶμαι χερσί.

## CHAPTER XIX.

9. τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἦνδανε 'who entertained the better view', i.e. who were not Medizers.

οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀρέοντες 'and some too only when they actually saw'.

13. ἐς Ἐλευσίνα. They came by the Eastern road from the Isthmus (the Skironian way) to Eleusis as the starting place for the pass of Dryoskephalae (see Index).

15. ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος. See c. 3.

17. τῆς Βοιωτῆς ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς 'as far into Boeotia as Erythrae', cf. c. 14 ἐκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης.

ἐμαθόν τε δὴ 'they there and then became aware'.

18. φρασθέντες δέ 'and with this knowledge before them', for δέ following τε, St. compares 1, 103 οὔτε ἄλλοτὲ κω παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε...φυλασσόμεθα δέ.

19. ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπώρεης 'in the high-lands at the foot of Kithaëron'. Here too ἐπὶ with gen. *distinguishes*, i.e. it distinguishes the hill district from the valley without indicating the exact spot on which the troops were. See on p. 11 l. 6. The object of course of keeping on the hills was to be secure from the enemy's cavalry.

## CHAPTER XX.

21. οὐ κατέβαινον, imperf. of continued action 'persisted in not descending'.

23. Μασίστιος...τὸν Ἕλληνας Μακίστιον καλέουσι 'whom Greeks call Makistios'. The Greeks who thus altered the name followed the tendency, observed in both the Greek and Latin languages, to reject or alter the sound of *s* between two consonants, thus the Sansk. *ushas* = morning became ἥως and *aurora*. (Peile's Philol. p. xii.) The next step was to connect the word with μάκιστος the Doric form of μήκιστος 'very tall'.

13 3. κατὰ τέλεια 'one squadron after another', so that the Greeks were kept continually engaged.

4. γυναῖκας...ἀπεκάλεον 'reproached them with being no better than women'. ἀποκαλεῖν is always used in a bad sense of 'to abuse', 'to call by an evil name', cp. Soph. *Aj.* 727 τὸν τοῦ μανέντος κάπιβουλεύτου στρατοῦ ξύναιμον ἀποκαλοῦντες. [See many instances

given by Donaldson *New Cratylus* p. 347, and by Stallb. on Plat. *Theæt.* 168 c.] 'To be called worse than a woman (says Her. 9, 107) is the extremity of insult among the Persians'.

## CHAPTER XXI.

6. τῇ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός 'at that point in the whole position which was most open to attack', cp. 1, 84 τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος. The Megarians, according to Plutarch [*Aristid.* 14], were on more level ground than the rest of the army. From c. 22 it appears that this was near Erythrae on which the left of the Persian army rested (c. 15).

12. δέκεσθαι [App. A. 1. 1] *sustinere*, 'to stand against'.

14. λιπαρίη 'persistence', cp. *infr.* c. 70, cf. 8, 144 λιπαρήσομεν 'we will persevere'.

16. τάξιος. App. C. 1. 3rd decl. (2).

18. ἀπειρεῖατο τῶν Ἑλλήνων 'tried to ascertain by enquiry among the Greeks': for the distinction between πειράσθαι and ἀποπειράσθαι 'to try', and 'to satisfy oneself by enquiry', see 2, 73 ὥδ' ὅσον πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δύνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειράσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ κ.τ.λ. See also 6, 48; 7, 196.

22. ἐλοχήγαι 'was in command'. The λόχος as a name for a definite division of the army is Spartan or Dorian; neither it, nor λοχαγός, is ever used by Thucydides in connexion with the Athenian army. The principal officers in the Athenian infantry were the Strategus and the Taxiarch for the quota supplied by each tribe, and these were the officers who met at a council of war (Thucyd. 7, 6c). The λόχος in the Athenian army was apparently a subdivision made on the spot for the purposes of the field, and varied in number according to the exigencies of the occasion, as the two passages in Xenophon (*An.* 3, 4, 21; 4, 8, 15) shew; in the first of which the λόχος consists of 100 men, in the second of 80. In the present case the λόχος consists of 300 picked men, and the commander appears to be nominated by the Strategus.

## CHAPTER XXII.

25. προσελόμενοι, cp. p. 6, l. 20. τοὺς τοξότας 'the proper proportion of bowmen' for the 300 hoplites. The numbers are not certain, but in Plutarch *Theb.* 14 it is stated that of the eighteen fighters on deck at Salamis four are τοξόται. About a third of the number of the



hoplites would thus be the number of the bowmen. In Thuc. 2, 13, 10 Perikles reckons (B.C. 431) that the Athenians have 13,000 hoplites and 1600 bowmen; yet in B.C. 423 they send a force to the coasts of Makedonia, in which the proportion is 600 bowmen to 1000 hoplites, but then there was a large force of allies besides [Thucyd. 4, 129]. They were probably foreigners or men of the lowest rank; the bowman's office being apparently always regarded as inferior. [See Soph. *Aj.* 1121 ὁ τοξότης ξοικεὺν οὐ σμικρὸν φρονεῖν.] This seems to have arisen from the fact of their not joining in the *mêlée*, and therefore not having the opportunity of distinguishing themselves by a conspicuous display of gallantry or vigour. Cp. Eur. *H. F.* 159 ἀλλὰ τόξ' ἔχων | κάκιστον ὄπλον τῇ ψυχῇ πρόχειρος ἦν.

27. κατὰ τέλεα. See supra l. 3.

14 4—5. χρύσειον λεπιδωτόν 'made of gold scales', cp. the name of a Nile fish λεπιδωτός in 2, 72 [λεπίς 'a fish scale', 7, 61].

κιθῶνα. App. A. 1. 2.

6. ἐνδεδύκεε. App. D. footnote 1.

8. οὐτω δῆ, *tum demum*, 'not till this was done', see Index.

11. ἀναχωρήσιος γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς, 'as a retreat and reverse movement was going on'; the tactics of the Persian cavalry were to make frequent charges in squadrons and at once to retreat.

13. ἐπόθησαν, 'they missed him'. For the form see notes on Text. The MSS. vary between ἐπόθεσαν and ἐπόθησαν, but the future mid. is always ποθέσομαι.

14. διακελευσάμενοι, 'having passed the word round to each other', for there was no one to command (οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων). Cp. p. 3, l. 13.

15. ἤλανον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες opp. to κατὰ τέλεα. See l. 17.

16. ἀνελόιατο. App. D. II. c. ὡς ἂν...ἀνελόιατο, 'that they might if they did *that* at least pick up the corpse'. When a final sentence expresses a conclusion in which another hypothesis is virtually contained ὡς and ὅπως take ἂν and, after a past tense, an optat. See 1, 75, 91. What is here implied is 'as they would if they went with all the cavalry', Donaldson's Gk. Gr. § 608. Cp. p. 34, l. 1.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

18. ἐπιβώσαντο [App. A. 3, 9] 'shouted to them to come to their help'. The ἐπι- has the same sense as in ἐπικαλεῖσθαι 'to invoke'. Cp. *Od.* 1, 378 θεοὺς ἐπιβώσομαι. *Her.* 1, 87 τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιβώσασθαι.

ἐν ᾧ. App. C. II. 2 (note 1) 'during the time occupied by the whole body of cavalry in coming up'.

19. ὀξέα. App. A. 3, 4.

21. ἐσσοῦντο [App. D. I. a] 'were getting much the worst of it'.

22. οὕτω δὴ, cp. p. 3, l. 2 etc.

25. ἀποστήσαντες sc. τοὺς ἵππους 'having halted their horses at a distance'. ὅσον τε *ferè* 'about'. For the suffix τε, which has lost its original meaning, cp. the forms οἷός τε, ἄτε, ὥστε, ἐφ' ᾧτε. Though in Attic usage this τε disappeared except in these cases, it was more commonly used in the earlier stages of the language. The 'force of it is that of an undeclined τις', Monro *Homeric Gr.* § 108.

26. ἀναρχίης ἐούσης 'as they had no commander'. See above, l. 14.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

30. μέγιστον. Obs. the emphatic position of μέγιστον, which does not refer to the mourning of Mardonius alone, but to that of the whole army as well.

κείροντες. Cutting the hair as a sign of mourning was common to the Greeks with the Easterns generally. Rawlinson quotes Job i. 20 and Herod. 2, 36, where Herodotus contrasts with the mourning customs of the rest of the world that of the Egyptians, who let their hair grow in such circumstances. For the cutting of the manes of horses he quotes Eurip. *Alc.* 429 τέθριππά θ' οἱ ξεύγνυσθε καὶ μονάμπυκας πῶλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνεται ἀχένων φόβην, and Plutarch (*Pelop.* 33—4) who tells us how Alexander the Great on the death of Hephaestion not only cut the manes of horses and mules, but even took down the parapets of the walls as signs of mourning; while the Thessalians also cut their own hair and horses' manes as a sign of mourning for Pelopidas.

1. ἅπασαν...κατεῖχε ἡχώ 'a rumour spread over all Boeotia'. 15 Another instance of poetical diction, cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 428 οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ | κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἄλα.

## CHAPTER XXV.

6. ὥς ἐδέξαντο...ᾤσαντο 'when they had not only stood the charge of the cavalry, but actually repelled it'.

7. πρῶτα μὲν 'and the first thing they did was etc.', answered by μετὰ δέ in l. 11.

9. εἵνεκεν, App. A. III. 3. ἐπόλεον, App. D. III. note 1.

11. τάξις, App. C. I. 3rd decl. (2). μετὰ δέ 'subsequently', answering πρῶτα μὲν as in I, 128.

12. ἐπικαταβῆναι 'to make a forward movement down into the plain'. The ἐπὶ indicates that this movement was an offensive one in respect to the enemy.

ἐς Πλαταιάς 'into the territory of Plataea', as in p. 11, l. 5 ἐς Θήβας = 'into the Thebaid'.

14. τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ... 'in other respects, and particularly because it was better watered'. The τὰ ἄλλα refers to the fact of the district of Plataea being a plain.

17. σφι = αὐτοῖς. App. C. II. d.

διαταχθέντας 'arranged in their separate nationalities', cf. l. 20.

21—2. τοῦ τεμένεος... ἥρωος 'near the sacred precinct of the hero Androkrates'. For the position of the Chapel see *Historical Index*. Nothing is known of this hero.

Every Greek state had its heroes, i.e. certain of its citizens whose services in their lifetime had been such as to merit apotheosis, as Harmodios and Aristogeiton at Athens, where their worship was the special province of the Polemarch (Pollux 8, 91); and especially such men as the state regarded as its founders (οἰκισταί), as the people of Amphipolis chose to regard Brasidas [Thucyd. 5, 11; cp. Her. 6, 38]. The honours paid to them were different in kind to those paid to the gods; to the gods men are said θύειν, to the heroes ἐναγίζειν ('to avert pollution' ἄγος), see Pausan. 2, 11, 7 ὡς ἥρωϊ... Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐναγίζουσιν, Εὐμαρίῳ ὡς θεῷ θύουσιν. But the two kinds of worship had a tendency to be confounded, and Herod. uses θύουσιν of a hero (6, 38); and in the case of Hercules both kinds of worship were paid ὡς ἀθανάτῳ θύουσι... ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι (Her. 2, 44). On the subject see Dr Arnold's note to Thucyd. 5, 11, where he compares this peculiar worship to the adoration of saints. An instance of appeal to these heroes is given by Herod. [8, 64] in the case of the Aeakidae, the heroes of Aegina. In order to secure their aid at the battle of Salamis a ship was despatched from the fleet to bring their images. We might compare the 'Battle of the Standard' with the consecrated banners and relics of St Cuthbert, St Peter, St John of Beverley and St Wilfrid carried on to the field in a waggon (A.D. 1138).

23. ἀπέδου 'level'. For the so-called α copulative, see Curtius 395. It is the remains of the Sanskrit *sa-*, *sam-*, to which *α-*μα is akin. Cp. *α-*λογ-ος, *α-*δελφ-ός, *α-*κόλουθ-ος.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

25. *ἰδικαλεῖν*, App. D. III. 3.

1. τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, 'the other (i.e. the left) wing', the Spartans 13 being by common consent assigned to the right.

2. τοῦτο μὲν 'in the first place', should be answered by τοῦτο δέ, but the length of the intervening paragraph puts it out of the writer's mind.

3. ἀξιεύμεθα, App. D. III. 3.

7, 8. ἐπειρῶντο...κατιόντες 'they tried returning', cp. p. 35, l. 15 and 1, 84 ἐπειράτο προσβαλῶν, but it also takes infin. p. 22, l. 20. For κατιέναι 'to return home from exile', see Arist. *Ran.* 1165 φεύγων δ' ἀνὴρ ἦκει τε καὶ κατέρχεται. The corresponding substantive is κάτοδος. For the return of the Heraclidae, representing the invasion of the Dorians into the Peloponnesus, see Index s. vv. *Heraclidae* and *Hyllus*.

8. τότε 'on this last-named occasion'. εὐρόμεθα 'we obtained as our privilege', cp. c. 28 εὐροντο ἐστάναι [p. 19, l. 5].

10. τῶν τότε ἰόντων refers only to the Ionians [who once held the district of Aegialos, afterwards Achaia, on the N. coast of the Peloponnese, see Her. I, 146], for the Achaeans were still in the Peloponnesos: see *Historical Index*. ἐς τὸν Ἴσθμον. This single combat took place, according to Pausanias [I, 41, 2], in the Megarid, that is, on the frontier between it and Korinthos (id. I, 44, 10).

12—14. τὸν στρατὸν...μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα 'that neither army should run any superfluous risk by engaging with the other', cp. p. 27, l. 11. The force of ἀνακινδυνεύειν is that of taking upon oneself a voluntary or unnecessary risk, beyond what has already been done. Cp. 8, 68, 100.

16. ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι 'on conditions to be mutually (διὰ) agreed upon'. This is the regular meaning of ἐπὶ with dat. participle or participle adj. Cp. the phrases ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις, ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι, ἐπ' ἀρρήτοις τοῖς λόγοις, and ἐφ' ᾧ 'on condition that', cp. l. 18.

17. ἔταμον ὄρκια 'made a sworn agreement', lit. 'killed oath-victims', cp. 4, 70, where a similar custom among the Skythians is mentioned, and in the same book, c. 201, among the Persians. It was of great antiquity among the Greeks, see *Iliad* 2, 124; 3, 270.

18. ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε 'on terms to the following effect'.

21. ἑκατὸν τε ἐτέων 'and for a space of a hundred years'. The gen. expresses the length of time as it does *dimension*, cp. the phrase

τεῖχος δέκα ποδῶν. So in 2, 115 *τριῶν ἡμερῶν* = 'within three days'. The space of 100 years thus agreed upon corresponds with the 'three generations' which, according to other authorities, Hyllos was informed by the Oracle must elapse before the Heraclidae were restored [Apollodoros 2, 8, 2].

26. *εὐρόμεθα*, see above, l. 8.

28. *διατελέομεν ἔχοντες* 'we have ever held and still hold'. *τοῦ κέρους τοῦ ἐτέρου* 'one of the two wings'.

29. *κοινῆς* 'combined', i.e. a combined expedition of the states of the Peloponnese.

30. *ἀντιεύμεθα*, App. D. III. 3.

17 1. *ικνέεσθαι* 'that it comes to us', 'it is our right'. Herod. uses this word where an Attic writer would have used *προσῆκειν*. Cp. 6, 57 *δικάζειν ἐς τὸν ικνέεται ἔχειν αὐτήν*. Thus the participle *τὸ ικνεύμενον* = 'that which is right' or 'fitting' (6, 84), and the adverb *ικνευμένως jure* (6, 65).

3. *ἀπηγγμένου*, 'related', a pass. part. of deponent verb, cp. I, 207.

5. *ἡμῖν*. The agent is regularly expressed by dat. with perf. and pluperf. pass. verbs. G. § 188. Cp. p. 47, l. 25.

6. *ἀγωνίζονται*, App. D. II. (a).

7. *δίκαιον...ἥπερ Ἀθηναίους* 'it is more just that we should occupy the other wing than that the Athenians should do so'. For the use of a positive for a comparative word followed by *ἢ* cp. Thucyd. 6, 21, 1 *αἰσχρὸν δὲ βιασθέντας ἀπελθεῖν ἢ ὕστερον ἐπιμεταπέμπεσθαι*. So with *ὥστε* cf. *γέρων ὥστε σ' ὠφελεῖν* 'too old to help' (Eur. *Andr.* 80). Her. 3, 40 *βούλομαι οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα...ἢ εὐτυχεῖν τὰ πάντα*. See on p. 4, l. 17. [Abicht however suspects that *μᾶλλον* has dropped out before *ἥπερ*.]

8. *σφί* dat. of agent, see l. 5.

9. *οὐτ' ὦν καινά*, see on p. 12, l. 5.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

13. *ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων*. There is no reason to doubt the fact of the dispute or that the general drift of the arguments on both sides was what Herod. represents it to have been. The importance attached by Greek States to such legendary support of national claims was very great, as may be seen in the arguments advanced in defence of the claim of Athens on Salamis against Megara, which rested (1) on a verse of Homer (*Il.* 2, 558) representing Ajax as

stationing his ships next those of Athens, (2) the supposed Attic citizenship of the sons of Ajax, (3) on the fact that the Salaminian method of burial agreed with the Athenian and not the Megarian custom, (4) on the fact that the Delphic oracle had spoken of Salamis as Ionian [Plut. *Sol.* 10]. The action of the Athenians in taking in the exiled sons of Hercules and refusing to give them up to Eurystheus [Apollod. 2, 8] is quoted more than 100 years later than this by Isocrates, as a valid ground for a claim by Athens on the admiration and gratitude of other Hellenes [*Panegy.* c. 15].

14. *προίθηκε*, cp. 8, 49. *ἐκατέροισι*, see on l. 5. *ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ* 'through all time', i.e. from the earliest to the present time.

15—17. *χρηστά...χρηστοῖσι* 'brave'.

18—24. For the legend see above on l. 13, and the Historical Index s.vv. *Heraclidae*, *Eurystheus*.

21. *κατέλομεν* 'we brought down'.

23. *τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας* 'who then inhabited the Peloponnese', i.e. before the invasion of the Dorians.

25. *τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα*, a poetical or rhetorical expression for 'dead'. Herod. often uses *αἰών* in the sense of 'term of life', cp. c. 17; see 1, 32; 3, 40; 7, 46.

26. *ἀτάφους*. The refusal of burial to fallen enemies was held in especial horror by the Greeks; it involved penalties to the departed souls, and pollution to the living, and was against the *Πανελληνῶν νόμος* [Eur. *Suppl.* 526]. See Becker, *Charicles*, p. 383.

28. *τῆς ἡμετέρης*, for this topographical genitive see p. 8, l. 23; p. 12, l. 17. The tombs, or what passed for them, were shown in the time of Pausanias on the road from Eleusis to Megara [1, 39, 2].

1. *εὖ ἔχον* 'glorious', cp. p. 17, l. 6.

4. *ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει* 'but enough of this, for it is of no avail'; the *ἀλλά* dismisses the subject, the *γάρ* gives the reason for so doing. For the impersonal use of *προέχει* see on p. 11, l. 17.

4—6. *καὶ γὰρ ἂν...ἀμείνονες* 'for of course though brave in those days the same men may be less brave now, and vice versa'. The emphatic place of the first *ἂν* in the sentence and its repetition serve to mark the highly hypothetical nature of the sentence.

8. *ἀποδεδεγμένον* 'performed', cp. *ἀποδέξασθαι στρατηγὴν* 'to perform a military exploit' 2, 111; *ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα ἔργα* 1, 59.

9. *τέοισι*, App. C. II. c.

10—14. *τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι...τεσσεράκοντα*. The Athenians naturally put forward their conduct at Marathon (Sept. B.C. 490) as



their greatest claim to honour in the rest of Hellas, and thought and spoke of themselves as having been there the sole champions [*μονομαχίσαντες*, cp. Isocr. *Panegy.* § 86 τὸν κοινὸν πόλεμον ἴδιον ποιησάμενοι...τὴν οἰκίαν δύναμιν ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας], in spite of the presence of the 1000 Plataeans [H. 6, 108].

13. ἔθνεα ἑξ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα 'forty-six nations'. This is the number which Herodotos reckons in the land army of Xerxes [7, 60—81]; the speaker is here made to assume that the numbers of the nations who supplied contingents to the army of Datis and Artaphernes in B.C. 490 was the same; which can only be roughly true, if true at all.

15. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ, see on p. 17, l. 13.

20. ὥς πεισομένων 'with the full understanding that we will obey'.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

21. ἀνέβρωσε 'shouted aloud', App. A. III. 9.

22, 23. 'Ἀθηναίους...ἥπερ Ἀρκάδας 'that Athenians were more worthy than Arkadians'; notice the absence of def. article, the Lakedaemonians put their decision on national grounds; 'mere Arkadians', as were the Tegeans, were to be held inferior to Athenians. Arkadia we must remember was inhabited by the descendants of the occupiers of the Peloponnese before the coming of the Dorians.

23. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον sc. τὸ κέρας 'it was on considerations such as these that the Athenians actually occupied the wing'.

26. οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες, 'those who originally joined the expedition', as opposed to those who joined after the army was in Boeotia, (οἱ ἐπιφουέοντες). See c. 38, ἐπιρρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεόνων.

27—8. Λακεδαιμονίων...Σπαρτιήτας. Notice the distinction between 'Lakedaemonians', i. e. all inhabitants of Lakonia, and 'Spartans', i. e. full citizens or ὅμοιοι of Sparta; though as distinguished from other states the former word may be used at times for the latter. ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλωτέων [see for the form p. 6, l. 9] 'light-armed troops consisting of the Helots'. The regular armies of the Greek nations, consisting of the citizens of the several states, were hoplites or men armed with the heavy shield (ἄσπλον) and spear. Light-armed troops were made up either from slaves like the Helots, or of peltasts hired from other countries. The formation of regular

light-armed troops of citizens was subsequent to the Peloponnesian war, though a first step was made towards it, afterwards perfected by Iphikrates [Xen. *Hellen.* 4, 5, 13], by Thrasylos in B.C. 409, who formed a kind of light-armed naval brigade at Athens [Xen. *Hell.* 1, 2, 1.]

2. **τιμῆς εἵνεκεν καὶ ἀρετῆς.** In this phrase *εἵνεκεν* has a somewhat different meaning in combination with its two nouns 'for the sake of shewing them honour', and 'because of their valour'. Stein quotes for this double sense of *εἵνεκεν*, *Odyss.* 15, 232 *δεσμῷ ἐν ἀργαλέῳ δέδετο...εἵνεκα Νηληϊὸς κούρης ἄτης τε βαρείης.*

5. **εὔροντο παρὰ Πανσανιέω...Ποτιδαιητέων** 'they (the Korinthians) asked and obtained from Pausanias that the 300 from Potidaea in Pallene should stand next them'. Potidaea being a colony of Korinth this was a natural step for the mother city to take. For **εὔροντο** cp. p. 16, l. 9.

7. **τούτων ἐχόμενοι** 'next to these'. *ἔχεσθαι* with gen. = 'to hold on to', thus to keep up an unbroken line with, hence *προσέχας* in l. 1.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

25. **πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον**, see c. 10.

29. **ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον** 'for the battle against the barbarians'.

30. **πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι**, 35,000 Helots, i. e. 7 for each of the 5000 Spartans as above.

4. **πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι**, 34,500; but the real number of the hoplites apart from the 5000 Spartans is 33,700 according to the list given above, and therefore the nos. of *ψιλοὶ* should be 33,700 also; Herodotos has therefore counted wrong. For instances of similar miscalculations see 1, 130; 3, 90—5; 5, 52—4; 8, 43—8, and others [Rawlinson, vol. 1, p. 87].

## CHAPTER XXX.

9. **τοῖσι μάχιμοις** 'combatant', 'on a war footing'. Thus in 8, 186 the effective combatants (*τὸ μάχιμον*) of the army of Xerxes is distinguished from the camp followers and servants.

10. **πρὸς δέ** 'and besides', for the adverbial use of *πρὸς*, cf. p. 40, l. 17.

**σὺν δὲ Θεσπείων...μυριάδες.** The Thespian 1,800 are not counted either in the hoplites or the *ψιλοὶ*, as not being combatant (*μάχιμοι*); not because they were not fit for fighting, but because they were not armed. Herod. speaks of them as *οἱ περι-*

εόντες 'the survivors'. This does not seem to refer to the 700 Thespians who fell at Thermopylae [7, 222 sq.] for he might have as well called the 5000 Spartans 'survivors', but to the fact of their town having been burned by Xerxes in 480 B.C., while its inhabitants escaped to the Peloponnese. They must in their hurried flight have resolved not to burden themselves with arms. Their 700 had perished at Thermopylae and their arms were lost, and in the state of universal preparation then going on in the Peloponnese they would not be able to procure others.

11. αἱ ἑνδεκα μυριάδες, the 110,000 are thus made up:

Hoplites .....	38,700
Helots .....	35,000
Other light-armed .....	34,500
	<hr/>
	108,200
Thespians .....	1,800
	<hr/>
	110,000

14. ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ' οὗτοι 'but neither had they (i.e. any more than the ψιλοί) shields and spears'; and therefore, Herod. implies, they could not be called hoplites, and yet they were not technically ψιλοί, their *natural* position being that of hoplites.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

16. ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν 'when they had finished the funeral ceremonies for', including the mourning mentioned in c. 24. Cp. τὸ κῆδος = 'funeral' in 6, 58. For the sense of ἀπό in composition of 'completion' or 'finishing' cp. ἀποπειρᾶσθαι p. 13, l. 18; ἀποτύψασθαι 2, 40; ἀποπίνειν 4, 70.

17—19. παρήσαν...ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν 'moved down to the bank of the Asopos'.

21. καὶ δὴ...γάρ 'and in point of fact because', for this use of γάρ cp. p. 17, l. 13.

22. ἐπὶ τε τάξιν πλεῦνας 'many more deep', i.e. than the Spartans (not as Rawl. 'than usual'). There were two effects of the superiority of the Persian numbers, says Herod., first their line was much deeper than that of the Spartans, and secondly even then their front was extended beyond that of the Spartans, so as to face the Tegeans also. ἐπὶ πλεῦνας cf. 6, 111. With definite numbers in kindred phrases ἐπὶ takes the gen. ἐπὶ τριῶν, τεττάρων τάσσεσθαι, because the men are regarded as separate groups of three or



four. In phrases like the present ἐπὶ has that sense of *extension* which it has in such phrases as ἐπὶ πλέον, ἐπὶ πάν.

ἐκεκοσμέατο, App. D. II. (a).

23. ἐπέχον 'covered', 'extended along the front of the Tegeans': cp. I, 108 τὴν ἀμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν, 8, 35 δσα ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος πάντα ἐσιναμύρεον. So ἐπέσχον throughout this passage.

27. ἐχομένους, as often in c. 28.

12. οὐ γὰρ ὦν explains why there were not more than 1000. 21 'For the fact of course is that etc.'

14. αὖξον 'were supporting', see 8, 30.

κατελιγμένοι 'collected in bands', lit. 'rolled up' (κατελέω). Elsewhere Herod. uses it with an idea of being 'shut in', cf. infr. c. 70; and 8, 27.

15. ἐφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον 'pillaged', i.e. carried off the property and drove off the cattle: thus the phrase came to be used of general looting or destroying of persons as well as things, cf. I, 88 φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν τὰ σά. 3, 39 ἵνα μὴ ἀλλήλους φέροίεν τε καὶ ἄγοιεν. So the Latin phrase *ferre agereque* (Liv. 22, 3 etc.) and Vergil's poetical variation *rapiuntque feruntque* [*Aen.* 2, 374].

17. τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλὴν οἰκημένους, 'the immediate neighbours of the Thessalians', such as the Dolopes, Achaeans of Phthiotis and Magnesians, see 7, 132. For περὶ with acc. cp. p. 40, I. 11.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

19. ὠνόμασται, App. D. I. (a).

21. λόγου πλείστου 'of most account', cf. p. 44, I. 3.

28. ἐπιβάτας 'marines', men at arms who went on board (ἐπιβαίνειν) ships: see 6, 12. It is used of the warrior crew of the Argo in 4, 145. Some armed crews are mentioned in 7, 89.

29. ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, into Attica, cp. p. 1, I. 3.

30. ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται, sc. in 8, 113, where Mardonius is represented as selecting 300,000 of the best of the grand army of Xerxes.

1. οὐ γὰρ ὦν 'for naturally they were not counted', cp. on 22 p. 12, I. 3. No doubt after the failure of the Persians all their Greek allies were anxious to conceal the fact that they had supported them; and this would make an estimate of their numbers difficult or impossible.

2. ὥς δὲ ἐπικάσαι 'but as far as one may guess on the subject'; for constr. see c. 34.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

5. ἐτετάχατο, App. D. II. (a).

6. κατὰ τε ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα 'according to their nations and also the military divisions in those nations'. See above, cc. 20, 22. The τέλεα seem to be the divisions according to arms, as shield-and-spearmen, bowmen, horsemen (I, 103); as well as subdivisions in them, as in c. 20.

9. μάντις 'a seer' or 'diviner'. A Greek army was always accompanied by a μάντις, whose duty seems to have been to be present at all sacrifices, and to declare the result to be deduced from them, as well as to interpret every omen for good or evil that events presented; and generally to advise the commander on all points touching upon the manifestation of the will of heaven. The art of divination was maintained as a 'mystery' in certain families, in which it was transmitted from father to son,—such families were the Clytiadae, Iamidae (see Index), and others. Of these μάντις different men were skilled in different branches of the profession, some in the interpretation of oracles, some of dreams, some of the omens conveyed by the flight of birds or the entrails of victims. Their influence at this time was great, and Herodotos constantly mentions them and their art; but in the course of the Peloponnesian war there are signs of the decrease of their influence; just as the authority of the Delphic Oracle suffered at the same period. Thucydides rarely mentions them, and in 8, 1, tells us how incensed the people were with the χρησμολόγοι and μάντις for having raised false hopes in them in regard to the Sicilian expedition [B.C. 413]. Euripides perhaps put this national sentiment into the mouth of Pentheus when he accused Teiresias of supporting the new worship of Dionysos for the sake of private gain [*Bacch.* 257. Cp. *Helena* 756].

10. ἐποιήσαντο 'adopted', for the various meanings of the middle of ποιεῖσθαι see passages in Index.

11. λεωσφέτερον 'their fellow citizen', see notes on text. Though Cobet may be right in declaring this to be a *monstrum verbi*, yet it must be acknowledged that it has the advantage of being unmistakable in meaning. Stein thinks it probable that it was a word peculiar to the Doric dialect. Compounds of λεώς are rare; there is λεωφόρος

(1, 187), and Hesych. has λεώβατος; but none or few besides. On the other hand it seems not uncommon in Doric names; we have Λεωβότης (7, 204), Λεωκήδης (6, 127), Λεωπρέπης (6, 85), Λεωτυχίδης (6, 64, etc.).

12. **περὶ γόνου** 'about having offspring'. One of the commonest subjects on which the Oracle was consulted was childlessness; but in this case the Oracle answers on quite a different subject, as was often its habit. Rawl. quotes 4, 151, 155; 5, 63, as instances.

15. **ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικούς ἀγῶνας** 'destined to win prizes in gymnastic contests'. So *νίκην ἀναιρέεσθαι* c. 64; 'Ολυμπιάδα ἀνελόμενος τεθρίπῳ 6, 70.

16. **παρὰ ἐν πάλαισμα...** **Ολυμπιάδα** 'came within one contest of winning an Olympiad', i.e. of winning the Pentathlic prize at the Olympic games. For the meaning of *παρ' ἐν...ἔδραμε*, see Thucyd. 4, 106, 3 *παρὰ νύκτα ἐγένετο λαβεῖν*. 7, 71, 4 *παρὰ ὀλίγον ἢ διέφευγον ἢ ἀπώλλυντο*. 8, 33, 3 *παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μὴ περιπεσεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*. Eurip. *I. T.* 87 *παρὰ δ' ὀλίγον ἀπέφυγε*. Isocr. *Panegy.* 15 *οὐ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησαν*. It is doubtful still whether the 'one contest' means the 'wrestling',—one of the five contests of the Pentathlum (leaping, running, discus, javelin, wrestling),—or the odd bout in the wrestling. Practically the result would be the same, for the man who lost the odd bout in the wrestling would be beaten in the wrestling entirely.

The more difficult question remains as to what Tisamenos did win, and what it was necessary to do to win the Pentathlum. Besides many German treatises the English student will find the question fully discussed in Donaldson's Introduction to Pindar *Nem.* VII.; and more recently by Professor Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 1. No. 1. p. 211. And by Dr Fennell in the introduction to his edition of the Nemean and Isthmian Odes of Pindar, pp. ix sq.

Opinions on this subject may be roughly divided into (1) those who think that the winner of a Pentathlum must be first in every event; as for instance Dr Abicht—*nur im Ringkampf allein unterlag er seinem Gegner; der Sieg im Ringkampf allein fehlte ihm daran um den Siegespreis im πένταθλον zu empfangen*. To this view I cannot assent. (2) Those who think that victory in three out of the five events only was necessary for victory in the whole Pentathlum. To this opinion I strongly adhere, notwithstanding certain difficulties which some possible combinations of circumstances



offer. As for instance the case of all five events being won by different men, or four of the five, leaving no one with more than two victories. My belief is that in either of these cases no one won the Pentathlum at all. But in practice such an event seldom happened, especially at Olympia, where the picked gymnasts contended, and the question would usually be practically between two or three known champions. Whatever view may be taken on this point of what *might* happen, I think the passage of Pausanias (3, 11, 6) in which he tells the story will shew conclusively what *did* happen in this case. His words are: 'He (Tisamenos) trained for the Pentathlum at Olympia, but was beaten. He was first indeed in two events; for he won the racing and the leaping against Hieronymos of Andros; but he was beaten by him in the wrestling, and missed the victory.' That is, Tisamenos won in the racing and leaping, Hieronymos the discus and javelin, and the final result therefore depended upon the wrestling, which accordingly settled the matter in favour of Hieronymos. Dr Abicht thinks it 'noteworthy' that Pausanias does not mention the two last contests. But the arrangements of the Pentathlum were in his time still so well known that to mention one man's winning two, and losing by wrestling, implied unmistakeably his having lost the other two, and did not need explanation. This account of the contest of Tisamenos also touches on another vexed question, as to the *order* of the events in the pentathlum, which used to be considered as settled by the line of Simonides (69) ἄλμα ποδακελὴν δίσκου ἀκοντα πάλην, but not only must the necessities of metre deprive this line of decisive force, the nature of the case seems to point to the fact that a contest that was *βαρύς* such as the *δίσκος* would not immediately precede one like the *ἄκων* which required a steady hand, or a fatiguing one like the *πάλην*. There is therefore some reason to accept the order proposed by Prof. Gardner and Dr Fennell, (1) leaping, (2) javelin-throwing, (3) discus, (4) running, (5) wrestling. And this order as far as the position of the running is concerned seems pretty well settled by Xenoph. *Hellen.* 7, 4, 29 where τὰ δρομικά are said to be just over and the wrestling to be begun.

19. φέρον 'having reference to'.

μισθῶ...ποιέεσθαι 'tried by the offer of pay to secure Tisamenos'. *μισθῶ* goes closely with *πείσαντες* which often by itself is used to mean 'bribe'. See Lysias 7, § 18.

23. προσθέσθαι 'to acquire', lit. 'to add to themselves'. ἀνερτίμα 'began to raise his terms'.

24. τῶν πάντων 'all civil rights'. ποιήσει, the *dramatic* indicative in reported speech, see c. 2. ἐπ' ἄλλῳ. See index under ἐπί.

26. πρώτα μὲν...τέλος δέ 'at the first hearing'... 'finally'.

δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο 'were indignant', cp. p. 3, l. 7, where the singular is used without appreciable difference in meaning.

27. μετίσαν τῆς χρησιμοσύνης 'abandoned their demand', μετίσαν is intransitive. Cp. *Odys.* 21, 377 καὶ δὴ μέθιεν χαλέποιο χόλοιο.

1. καταίνεον μετιόντες 'they went to fetch him and consented', 23 cp. 3, 28 οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήϊσαν ἐπιόντες.

4. λόγοισι 'terms', p. 2, l. 20.

### CHAPTER XXXIV.

6. ὥς εἰκάσαι βασιλιήτην...αἰτέομενον 'as far as one may compare the demand (lit. one demanding) of kingship and citizenship'. St. compares 4, 99 ὥς εἶναι ταῦτα μικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν, and Thucyd. 4, 36 ὥς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι. See also p. 22, l. 2.

7. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ 'for the story goes, I must tell you (δὴ), that Melampus too'. The story was that the three daughters of Proetos king of Tiryns, Sthenoboea, Lysippe, and Iphianassa, were driven mad, according to one account, for having refused to accept the orgiastic rites of Dionysos, according to another for having treated the statue of Herè with contempt. In their madness they careered wildly over Argos, Arkadia, and other parts of the Peloponnesos, accompanied by other women, married as well as virgins, until they were driven from their haunts and eventually cured by Melampus. [Apollodoros 2, 2, 2.]

9. ἐμισθοῦντο 'were trying to hire him'.

10. προτείνεται 'demanded as his terms'. In 5, 24 it is used of the other party to a transaction, the maker of the offer, τάδε τοι ἐγὼ προτείνεμαι.

11. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων 'when they did not submit to his demand'.

14. δῶσοντες 'prepared to give'. ἐπορέγεται 'raised his desires'.

### CHAPTER XXXV.

20. συγχωρησάντων...ταῦτα 'having yielded this'. Cp. Thucyd. 5, 41, 2 τάδε συγχωρῆσαι.

21—3. οὕτω δὴ...συγκαταίρει 'it was thus that Tisamenos assisted them in the successful accomplishment of five most import-

ant contests'; i.e. he accompanied the army as Mantis in each case. The five contests which Herodotos mentions immediately below are

(1) Battle of Plataea, against the Persians, B.C. 479.

(2) Battle at Tegea, against the Tegeans and Argives. This battle is nowhere recorded, but the Argives and Tegeans are known to have formed an alliance in the period immediately following this (Strabo 377, quoted by Stein).

(3) A battle at Dipaea (in Arkadia) against the Arkadians. Of the cause and time of this battle we are also ignorant.

(4) The struggle at Ithome. That is against the revolted Messenian helots in what is sometimes called the Third Messenian war B.C. 461—455 [Thucyd. 1, 101—3].

(5) The battle of Tanagra, B.C. 456, against the Athenians who were attempting to prevent the Lakedaemonians from returning home from Boeotia where they had staid on their way from Doris [Thucyd. 1, 107—8].

23. *μοῦνοι δὲ δῆ* 'and they were absolutely the only men ever admitted to citizenship at Sparta'. *δῆ* here marks the emphasis of the preceding *μοῦνοι*. The jealousy of the presence of strangers in Sparta was in accordance with the spirit of the Lyncurgen laws which aimed at isolating the Spartans and avoiding the corrupting influence of foreign manners. See Xen. *rep. Lac.* 14, who speaks of their *ξενηλασίαι*. Cp. p. 5, l. 26.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

24 3. *ἀμυνομένοισι* 'acting on the defensive'. *διαβᾶσι* 'if they crossed'. Stein remarks that there is a gap in the narrative from c. 19 leaving unrecounted a change of position of the Persian army which up to this time had been on the south side of the Asopos; and is now evidently on the north. All that Herodotos has before told us is that the Persian army was *ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ*, which probably meant that they were on both banks. But this entire change of position being unrecorded is still more remarkable if Stein is right in putting the strong camp (c. 15) on the south of the river.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

10. *ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ* 'threw him into prison with the intention of putting him to death'; for *ἐπὶ* = 'with a view to', cp. p. 52, l. 3, and Lys. XII. § 24 *ἐπὶ τῇ τούτου ὥφελεία διαλέγεσθαι*. Stein quotes



Xen. *Mem.* 4, 4, 3 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀγαγεῖν τινα. In 3, 119 the phrase is ἐδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, where some substantive such as δέσιν or ζημίαν must be supplied. Herodotos does not tell us what the offence of Hegesistratos against the Spartans was: but as he is said to have fled to Tegea, it was perhaps connected with one of the often recurring quarrels between that town and Sparta.

11. πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια 'many acts of hostility'.

12. ὥστε, see l. 19. τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς 'in extreme danger of death', 'his life being the prize at stake', cp. for this metaphor from the race-course 8, 74 ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντός ἤδη δρόμον θέοντες. c. 140 θεεῖν αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν. 7, 57 περὶ ἑωυτοῦ τρέχειν. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 376 ποιήσω...περὶ ψυχῆς δρόμον δραμεῖν. Plat. *Theaet.* 172 E πολλάκις δὲ καὶ περὶ ψυχῆς ὁ δρόμος.

13—4. πεισόμενος 'being certain to be submitted to'. μέζον λόγου 'beyond belief'. λόγος in this phrase seems to mean 'credible account'. Cf. 2, 35.

15. ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ 'in wooden stocks with iron fastenings'. The stocks appear to have only fastened one leg, and left all the other limbs free; as in the case of the unhappy maniac Kleomenes, who was able to kill himself in a most horrible manner in spite of being ἐν ξύλῳ (6, 75). Another kind of stocks was that mentioned by Aristophanes with five holes, for feet, hands, and neck, πεντεσύριγγον ξύλον, *Equites* 1049. ἐσενειχθέντος κως...ἐκράτησε 'for he got hold of an iron tool which had by some means or another been conveyed into the prison'. σιδήριον is not a specific word; in 7, 18 it is used of burning irons, in 3, 29 of a dagger.

19. ὥστε=ἅτε 'seeing that'; cp. l. 12, and 8, 118, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων.

21. ἐς Τεγέην. The distance from Tegea to Sparta was about 30 miles and was in great part a steep ascent, a truly wonderful achievement for a man with a freshly amputated foot.

28. οὐκ ἀρθμῆν p. 6, l. 1 'in a state of hostility'.

1. ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης sc. ὁδοῦ 'avowedly'.

2. συνήνεικε 'turned out well for', cf. 8, 87 τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάση.

3. συγκεκυρημένον [see notes on the text] seems to be used here (though nowhere else) for συντετυχηκός 'which he had from various events conceived'.

4. ἐν Ζακύνθῳ. Zakynthus was inhabited by Achaeans and was therefore naturally inclined to hostility to Sparta. Thither king

Demaratos fled when deposed [6, 70]; and the Zakynthians were among the allies of Athens in the Peloponnesian war, and were accordingly invaded by Sparta in B.C. 430 [Thucyd. 2, 66].

### CHAPTER XXXVIII.

7. οὐκ ὀλίγον 'for high wages'.  
 12. ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν 'to themselves', 'separately', cp. p. 11, l. 6.  
 15. τὰς ἐκβολὰς 'the approaches to the pass'. There would probably be more than one path leading from the pass of Cithaeron when it reached the lower grounds on the Boeotian side, and convoys of provisions might avail themselves of them for secrecy.  
 17. ἀπολάμψοιτο the fut. opt. in reported speech for the fut. indic. in direct speech. G. § 203 note 3.

### CHAPTER XXXIX.

21. τὴν ἵππον p. 11, l. 7.  
 22. αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι 'which leads towards Plataea', the pass over Kithaeron from Eleusis to Plataea.  
 25. ἐσβάλλοντα 'as it was debouching' i.e. into the valley of the Asopos.  
 26 5. ἤλαυνον περιβαλλόμενοι 'took possession of and drove'. For this meaning of περιβάλλεσθαι cp. 3, 71 ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος κέρδος, and 8, 8 πολλά τε καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο. The notion of 'surrounding' for the purpose of driving a number of animals is perhaps here the primary one, and Stein aptly quotes *Odyss.* 9, 464 καρπαλίμως δὲ τὰ μῆλα ταναύποδα πίοινα δημῷ Πολλὰ περιτροπέοντες ἐλαύνομεν.  
 6. παρὰ τε Μ. καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον 'to Mardonius and into the camp'. This does not imply that Mardonius was not in the camp; but παρὰ indicates that Mardonius was in command in the camp to receive them.  
 10. διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι 'but neither attempted to cross the river': that is, the main army on neither side. The Asopos as observed before would be shrunk at this time of the year to a very small stream, and the cavalry would have no difficulty in crossing it, and were shown the way by the Thebans, see l. 14 κατηγέοντο 'guided them', sc. τῇ ἵππῳ.  
 13. ἔφερον, cp. p. 12, l. 4.  
 14—5. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου 'the subsequent proceedings', cp. τὸ ἀπ' ἡμέων p. 4, l. 21. παραδεκόμενοι...μάλα ἔσκον 'took up and

carried out in their turn'. *ἔσκον* [= *ἤσαν*] is iterative, showing that the action was frequently renewed. *μάλα* in Herod. seems generally not to = 'very', but to express repetition or addition, like *πάλιν*. See I, 181 *ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ*, 'besides'; 7, 186 *τοὺς ἐν τοῖσι σιταγωγοῖσι ἀκάτοισι ἐόντας καὶ μάλα ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πλοίοισι*.

## CHAPTER XLI.

17. *τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων* 'the ten days' are from the first arrival of the Greeks opposite the Persians (c. 19). In c. 39 eight days are said to have passed, and c. 40 accounts for two more.

19. *ἐν Πλαταιῇσι* 'in the territory of Plataea', cp. p. 10, l. 26, p. 11, l. 2. The Persians were in the Theban territory, c. 15.

21. *περιημέκτεε* 'was exceedingly chafed', cf. I, 44. This verb seems entirely confined to Herodotos. Hesychios has *ἡμεκτεῖ· δυσφορεῖ*, but no example of the simple verb is known in any Greek author.

*τῇ ἔδρῃ* 'at the inaction', cp. Soph. *Aj.* 811 *οὐχ ἔδρας ἀκμή*.

23. *ἐν ὀλίγοις...δόκιμος* 'especially distinguished', 'distinguished as few were', cp. *ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα, ἐν πρώτοις* p. 54, l. 4, cp. 4, 52 *ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοις μέγαν*.

1. *ἀναξεύξαντας...λέναι* 'to break up their entire camp and go'. 27 *ἀναξευγνύναι* is properly 'to harness again': in 8, 60 it is used of ships; and infra c. 58 we have *ἀναξεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον*.

3—5. *ἐνθα...ἐσσηνείχθαι* 'where (he said) corn and fodder for the beasts in abundance had been brought in'. *διαπρήσσεσθαι* 'to complete the business' i.e. of subjugating Southern Greece.

8. *διαπέμπειν* to send in different directions. From Demosthenes, *Phil.* 3, 42, we know that a certain Arthmios of Zela was disfranchised, and declared an enemy of the Athenian people, for having conveyed money of the Persians into the Peloponnese; it is probable therefore that this plan was tried. See on p. 2, l. 4.

10—11. *σφέας* = *αὐτοὺς*, App. C. II. d.

*μηδὲ* joins *διαπέμπειν* and *ἀνακινδυνεύειν*.

*ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας*, see p. 16, l. 13.

13. *ισχυροτέρη* 'more violent' or 'for more violent measures'. Cp. the meaning of *κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν τι εἶναι armis* p. 1, l. 16.

18. *ἐὰν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι* 'to neglect (to say goodbye to) the omens altogether and not try to compel them to be favourable',



that is, by continually sacrificing. Theokritos (Id. 22, 9) describes ships which put to sea in spite of signs of bad weather as *ἄστρα βιαζόμεναι*.

19. νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων 'the Persian rule', i.e. of attacking an enemy without waiting for favourable sacrifices as the Greeks did; whereas they were at present employing a Greek *Mantis* and following his injunctions (c. 37).

## CHAPTER XLII.

24. ταξιάρχους. Herodotos uses the word in a general sense for captains of companies in the Persian army. In Athens the Taxiarchs were tribal officers next in rank to the Strategi, and taking part in councils of war [Thucyd. 7, 60, 2]. τῶν τελέων, see p. 13, l. 3.

28 1. ἐν ἀδείῃ οὐ ποιευμένων 'not considering it safe to speak'. Cp. 1, 131 νηὸς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιεῦνται ἰδρῦεσθαι 'they don't think it right to build temples'.

4. ἔστι λόγιον.....Δελφοῖσι. The information possessed by Mardonius as to the oracle probably, as Stein points out, came from Onomakritos, a soothsayer who accompanied Hippias to Susa, and who brought with him oracular prophecies as to the Persian expedition (Her. 7, 6). See Hist. Ind. s. v. *Musaeus*. The attempt of a division of the army of Xerxes upon Delphi is related in 8, 35—9.

8. ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας 'as far as that reason is concerned': so in l. 10—11 τοῦδε εἵνεκεν.

11. ὥς περισσομένους 'with the full assurance that we shall get the better of the Greeks', depending on the idea of knowledge implied in ἡδεσθε 'be comforted by the assurance'. For this so-called 'accusative absolute' introduced by ὥς see Clyde's *Greek Syntax*, § 64 note d.

12. ἐσήμηνε 'gave the order', a commander in chief was thus called *σημάντωρ* (*Odys.* 19, 314).

13. εὐκρινέα 'ready', lit. 'well separated', so that they could be easily handled, opposed to *δυσλύτως ἔχοντα*, Xen. *Oecon.* 8, 13.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

16. ἐς Ἰλλυριούς. For this legend see under 'Echeleans' in the Historical Index.

19. λεχεποίη 'grassy', the valley of the Asopos being pleasantly

in contrast with the bleak mountains separating it from Attica. Cp. Hom. *Il.* 4, 383 'Ἀσωπὸν δ' ἔκοντο βαθύσχοινον λεχεποίην.

20. *λύγην* 'babel', used of the cry of the foreigner as being unintelligible to the Greek. Sophokles, *Phil.* 753, uses the word to express the inarticulate screams of Philoktetes in his agony. For βαρβαρόφωνον see on p. 7, l. 9.

24. *ἐς Πέρσας* 'referring to the Persians', cp. l. 15.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

1. *τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν* 'his question as to the oracles', 29 p. 27, l. 26.

3—4. *προελήλατο* impers., 'when the night was far advanced'. For *πρόσω* see on p. 8, l. 23.

5—6. *τηνικαῦτα* 'at that hour'. *πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων*. The Makedonians were opposite the Athenians, p. 21, l. 17.

10. *ἔθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς* 'ran off to fetch the generals'. For this sense of *ἐπὶ* cp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 69 *ἔλθειν ἐπ' ἐκείνων*. Id. 111 *ἦλθες ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον*. Id. 1418 *ἐγὼ κατήλθον ἐπὶ ποιητὴν*.

12. *παραγυμνοῖ* 'disclosed', cp. 8, 19 *ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου...* 'whereas he (Themistokles) let out thus much and no more of his plan'.

## CHAPTER XLV.

16. *παραθήκην* 'a pledge' of my good faith. Cp. 6, 73 *παραθήκην αὐτοὺς παρατίθενται ἐς τοὺς ἐχθίστους*. In the same sense he uses *παρακαταθήκη* 2, 156.

17. *ἀπόρρητα* sc. *τὰ ἔπεα* 'pledging you to silence'; St. quotes Aristoph. *Eq.* 648 *κἀγὼ φράσα | αὐτοῖς ἀπόρρητον ποιησάμενος ταχύ*.

21. *Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τῶρχαῖον* 'I am a born Greek by original descent'. See Historical Index s.v. *Alexander*.

24—5. *πάλαι γὰρ ἂν* 'for if they had been favourable you would long ago have been engaged'. *νῦν δὲ* 'but as things are now'. *ἔαν χαίρειν*, p. 27, l. 18.

27. *μὴ πλεῦνες*. See p. 26, l. 20; p. 27, l. 15.

1. *ὑπερβάλλεται τὴν συμβολὴν* 'postpone', but see on p. 33, 30 l. 11—12.

2—3. *λιπαρέετε μένοντες* 'persist in maintaining your present position'. Cp. 5, 19 *ὦ πάτερ, εἵκε τῇ ἡλικίῃ, ἀπιὼν τε ἀναπαύεο μὴδὲ λιπάρεε τῇ πόσι*, 'don't persist in remaining at the wine', p. 13, l. 14.

5. **τινα** i.e. 'you'; an example of the Greek habit of avoiding definite statement. Cp. Theocr. 5, 120 *ἤδη τις, Μόρσων, πικραίνεται*. Cp. Arist. *Ran.* 664 *ἡλγησέ τις*. Compare also the use of *τις* in threats, p. 11, l. 18. **ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι** 'with a view to liberation'.

6. **παράβολον** 'hazardous'. Herod. does not elsewhere use this adjective, but he uses *παραβάλλεσθαι* in a kindred sense, see 7, 10 *ἀμφοτέρων παραβαλλομένων τὰ τέκνα*.

7. **ὑπὸ προθυμίας** 'from goodwill towards you'. G. § 191, 7 (c).

## CHAPTER XLVI.

15. **ἐς ἡῷ** 'at daybreak'. *εἰς* with acc. of time fixes a limit, so *ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην* (7, 155), *ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα* (1, 77).

22. **πεπερίηται Μήδων**. The prestige of the Persian soldiers is noticed by Herodotos in estimating the moral effect of the victory of the Athenians at Marathon. 'They were the first', he says, 'to face the Medes; for hitherto the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks' (6, 113). This feeling might be compared to that entertained by the Netherlanders in the 16th century in regard to the Spanish infantry. Stein notices in regard to the expression, *οὐδεὶς τῶν Σπαρτιητέων*, that Aristodemos, the sole survivor of the 300 at Thermopylae, was in the army (c. 71), but that he had not been actually in the fight (7, 229).

Pausanias' remark must only refer to fighting on land; for some of the Spartans were probably engaged at Salamis.

25. **ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον**. See on p. 31, l. 15.

31 4—5. **ἄρρωδέομεν...μὴ γένωνται**. The verb *ἄρρωδέομεν* is imperfect [App. D. I. (a)], and the subjunctive *γένωνται* is therefore *dramatic*, i.e. 'it retains the mood in which the fear originally occurred to the mind': G. § 218.

6. **ἡδομένοισι...γεγόνασι** 'we welcome the proposal'.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

9, 10. **διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξεις** 'they began effecting this interchange of positions'. **τὸ ποιούμενον** 'the meaning of the movement'.

12. **παράγων...κατὰ τοὺς Δ.** 'bringing the Persians by a counter movement to face the Lakedaemonians'.

14—15. **ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν** 'back again to the right wing', because the movement was complete, and the Spartans were on the extreme



right; but ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου 'towards the left', because the position of the Persians on so extended a line was probably not absolutely on the extreme left. Cp. 8, 47.

### CHAPTER XLVIII.

19. ὑμεῖς δὴ 'you forsooth!' δὴ expresses emphatic contempt.

21. ἐκπαγλειομένων sc. τῶν τῇδε, 'admiring you': a poetical word, see Aesch. *Choeph.* 209 ξύνοιδ' Ὀρέστην πολλά σ' ἐκπαγλουμένην. Cp. 8, 92.

23. ἄρα 'it turns out'.

24. ἐς χειρῶν νόμον 'to actual encounter', 'to close quarters', cp. ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ 'in actual battle' 8, 89.

26. ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι 'in the persons of' or 'at the expense of the Athenians'. Cp. Xen. *Oecon.* 2, 14 ἐν τῷ σῷ οἴκῳ μαθάνειν οἰκονομεῖν.

29. πλεῖστον δὴ. Like *adeo* in Latin δὴ often serves merely to emphasize the word which it follows.

1. ὥς δὴ πέμψετε 'that you would (I imagined) send'. Here 32 δὴ is rather like δῆθεν representing the irony of an unfulfilled idea.

2. μούνοισι. Cobet proposes to read μούνοι μούνοισι, which would certainly express the sense intended—'in single combat'—better: cf. Soph. *Aj.* 467 ἰὼν πρὸς ἔρυμα Τρώων ξυμπεσῶν μόνος μόνους. See also below l. 8 ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους.

6. λόγου 'proposal', cp. p. 2, l. 20.

τὶ δὴ οὐ...ἐμαχεσάμεθα 'why do we not fight'? The aorist is used of a single action of undefined time. Cp. p. 5, l. 6.

8. ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους. See on l. 2. This antithesis of the same adjective is particularly common in Sophokles, with whom Herodotos has so much in common; Stein quotes Soph. *Antig.* 142 ταχθέντες ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους.

11. ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσόμεθα 'then we will fight in single combat'. For δὲ in apodosis as in l. 10 οἱ δ' ὦν, see G. § 227, 2. Cp. p. 44, l. 10. The meaning of διὰ in the verb is that of rivalry or contest between two combatants, see on διαπινόντων p. 9, l. 28.

### CHAPTER XLIX.

16. τὰ καταλαβόντα 'what had taken place'. Cp. 4, 161 πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν. 9, 105 τοῦτον κατέλαβε κέεσθαι.

18. ψυχρὴ νίκη 'profitless victory', cp. 6, 108 ψυχρὴ ἐπικουρίη.

21. προσφέρεισθαι ἄποροι 'impossible to get at close quarters with', cf. 4, 46 ἄμαχοι τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν.

24. συνέχωσαν 'filled up with earth', cp. p. 8, l. 11.

28. οὕτω δῆ. Cp. p. 11, l. 28, and index.

## CHAPTER L.

33 7—8. ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. See on p. 31, l. 14.

ἄλλα...ἐλύπτεε 'for there were other circumstances causing them anxiety at the same time as those which I have mentioned'.

9. ὀπῶνες 'attendants', not necessarily slaves; the word had in the Iliad a more honourable meaning equivalent to *squire*, thus Meriones is ὀπάων to Idomeneus, *Il.* 8, 263.

10. ἐπισιτιεύμενοι, App. D. III. note 2. ἀποκεκλέατο (κλείω) 'had been prevented by the closing of the passes'. App. D. II. a.

## CHAPTER LI.

13. ὑπερβάλλονται...ποιεύμενοι. Cp. p. 30, l. 1, where ὑπερβ. is transitive='postpone': here it seems to be used intransitively, 'to be slow in engaging'. The double construction of πειρᾶσθαι with participle (p. 16, l. 7) and infinitive (p. 31, l. 11) presents the same variation.

16. πρὸ τῆς...πόλιος. That is on the N. or N.E. of Plataea, on the side of the town towards the armies.

17. νῆσος. See Historical Index s.v. *Island*. It does not at all militate against the naturalness of the name that the place is not absolutely enclosed by the rivers so as to form a real island. It was near enough to being one to give rise to the popular name.

18. σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ῥέει 'the river divides into two branches and flows down'.

24—5. ἵνα...ἔχωσι. For this *dramatic* subj. after a sentence in past time, see p. 31, l. 4. καὶ μὴ σινοίατο 'and might not (as they would if they had to go a long way for water) inflict losses upon them'. Cp. 8, 76 ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μὴδὲ φεύγειν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν. Thucydides 3, 22, 9 παρανίσχον φρυκτοὺς ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεῖα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν. Though in these cases there is a distinction between the first and the more remote contingency, yet the same change of mood occurs in other cases where the distinction cannot be so explained; see 8, 6. Both moods are admissible, and the change seems due to taste and a wish for variety. (Goodw. *M. and T.* p. 17.)

26. **δευτέρῃ φυλακῇ.** That is, between midnight and daybreak.

1. **ὥς ἂν μὴ ἰδοῖατο.** See on p. 5, l. 6 where *ὥς ἂν* is followed 34 by final subjunctive. For its sense with optative, implying a suppressed eventuality, 'that the Persians might not (as they would if they went by day) see them', cp. p. 4, l. 16. It is properly modal (= ὅπως), the *ἂν* belonging to the verb, as in Aesch. *Ag.* 353

Δία τοι Ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι  
τὸν τὰδ' πράξαντ', ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν  
μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ, μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστρον  
βέλος ἡλίχιον σκήψειεν.

'In such a way that the shaft should not fall (as it would from a weaker hand) in vain'. See Goodw. *M. and T.* pp. 69—76.

4. **περισχίζεται ῥέονσα** 'includes in its fork'.

6—7. **ἀναλάβοιεν** 'recover'. See c. 50. **ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία** 'to fetch provisions', see p. 29, l. 10.

8. **ἀπολελαμμένοι** 'intercepted'. For the form of the word instead of the Attic *ἀπειλημμένοι*, see App. E.

## CHAPTER LII.

11. **ἄτρυτον** 'perpetual', another instance of the use of a word by Herodotos confined in Attic to poetry. Soph. *Aj.* 788 *ἄτρυτα κακά.* **ἔληγε** 'began to draw to a close'.

13. **συνεκέετό σφι** 'they (the Greeks) had arranged'.

14. **ἀερθέντες** [*αἰέρω* Ion. form of *αἶρω* App. E] 'having started', usually in naval matters, apparently as middle 'having weighed anchor', see I, 165 *ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον*, cp. I, 170.

15—18. **οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐκινήθησαν** 'but when they had once started'. **πρὸ τῆς πόλιος**, see on p. 33, l. 16.

20. **ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα** 'halted', lit. 'piled arms'.

## CHAPTER LIII.

24. **κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους** 'in the same direction as the rest'.

3—4. **ταξιαρχέων...λοχηγέων.** See on p. 13, l. 22. Herodotos 35 seems to use *τάξις* and *λόχος* as synonymous terms here in reference to Spartans.

6. **ἐκὼν εἶναι** 'with his consent at least'. See on p. 4, l. 21.

7. **ἄτε οὐ παρεγενόμενος.** The meeting (*τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ*) mentioned above [p. 33, l. 4 sq.] had been an informal council of the



Strategi, without the presence of the Taxiarchs or Lochagi as was usual, see on p. 13, l. 22.

9—10. δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο 'were much disturbed', p. 3, l. 7. νενωμένου, App. B. I. (b).

15. ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντες 'were attempting to persuade him'. Cp. ἐπειρῶντο κατιόντες, p. 16, l. 8.

## CHAPTER LIV.

16. παρηγορέοντο 'were trying to talk over'.

20. φρονήματα 'dispositions', 'ways', cp. p. 4, l. 25.

ἄλλα φρονούντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων. Stein aptly quotes the famous attack on the Spartans in the *Andromache*, 445 sq..... λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν | γλώσση, φρονούντες δ' ἄλλ' ἐφειρίσκεσθ' αἰεί.

23—24. εἰ ἐπιχειροῖεν...εἴτε μὴ διανοεῦνται 'whether they were beginning to march or whether as a matter of fact they had no idea of moving'. The optat. is the natural mood for an indirect question, the indicative is dramatic, representing the exact words used, μὴ διανοεῦνται; The change of mood seems to be suggested by the latter alternative appearing to the Athenian generals the more likely of the two.

25. τὸ *quid*, see p. 45, l. 9; cp. 8, 40.

## CHAPTER LV.

26. ὦρα=ἑώρα, App. D. I. (e).

27—28. ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους 'come to a downright wrangle'. τοὺς πρῶτους 'their chief officers'.

31. ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες...καὶ ὁ κήρυξ παρίστατο 'they had just begun to absolutely quarrel when the Athenian herald came', p. 37, l. 6 and 8, 83.

36 4—6. ξείνους, p. 7, l. 9. φρενῆρεα [φρήν, ἀρ- 'fit'] 'in his right senses', *mentis compos*, cp. 3, 25.

5. ὁ δὲ, Pausanias.

6. πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναίων κήρυκα 'and turning to the herald who asked him the question with which he was charged, Pausanias bade him report the position of their affairs'. This is the way in which Stein interprets this passage; and it seems preferable to that of Abicht, who would take it 'Pausanias ordered (one of his men) to tell the Athenian herald etc.'; to which it may be objected that λέγειν πρὸς τινα should mean to speak 'before' a person [see p. 10, l. 22] not 'tell to' him.

10. **τά περ ἄν καὶ σφέις** sc. *ποιέωσι* 'whatever they [the Spartans] should do'. For the nomin. plur. *σφέις* see G. § 79 note 2.

## CHAPTER LVI.

12. **πρὸς ἑωυτοῖς** = *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, but with the notion of Spartan against Spartan, as opposed to the Athenians.

13. **κατελάμβανε**. Notice the imperf. 'began to overtake them'. **ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος** 'who in this interval had not moved', i.e. from the second watch [p. 33, l. 26] until the day began to break.

15—16. **τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο** 'and this was just what did happen'.

**διὰ τῶν κωλωνῶν** 'by the road which leads over the high ground'. Plataea is just at the mouth of the pass: the Spartans being on the extreme right of the Greek line could either descend into the flat ground and follow the Athenians, or could keep to the south over higher ground and meet the Athenians at the point of rendezvous. The latter was the route taken by them.

18. **τὰ ἔμπαλιν** 'the reverse way', i.e. to the north along the lower ground to meet the Spartans who would describe the other arc of the circle.

19. **ἀντείχοντο** 'clung to'.

## CHAPTER LVII.

23. **περιείχετο...τὴν τάξιν** 'continued eager that they (his men and himself) should stay where they were [αὐτοῦ] and not abandon their post'. Elsewhere Herod. constructs *περιέχεσθαι* with a gen., cp. 7, 160 *περιέχεσθε τῆς ἡγεμονίης*.

25—26. **ἰθέη τέχνη**, *re vera*, cp. 1, 112 *μηδεμῇ τέχνῃ* 'on no account'. Cp. *ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης* p. 25, l. 1. **βάδην** 'slowly', that he might not appear to be flying from the enemy, as Stein explains.

27. **τὸ δὲ** sc. *τὸ ἄλλο στίφος*.

2—3. **τῇ...ῆσται** 'where a temple too of Eleusinian Demeter 37 had been placed'. This word [pass. perfect from the root *ἔω*] is used as appropriate to the founding of a temple. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 364 *ἀγνὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἔσσαντ' εἰναλίῳ τέμενος*. Thucyd. 3, 58, 6 *ἱερά τε θεῶν...καὶ θυσίας τὰς πατρίους τῶν ἐσσημένων καὶ κτισάντων ἀφαιρήσεσθε*. The temple of Demeter was placed as usual in some lonely spot among the hills, see Hist. Index s. v. *Demeter*.

6. **καὶ...καὶ** 'and just as Amompharetos joined, the Persian horse began to attack them', see p. 35, l. 31.

9. *οἶον καὶ ἐώθεσαν*, see c. 49.

11. *αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω* 'further and further on', i.e. expecting to catch them up.

## CHAPTER LVIII.

15. *Θώρηκα*, cp. c. 1. The speech like others is either wholly dramatic, representing what Mardonius may be supposed to have felt, or may perhaps be founded on some report of his words afterwards set abroad by Thorax. But it is somewhat inartistic and inconsistent, for Mardonius is represented as speaking at the sight of the empty quarters lately occupied by the Greeks, whereas in c. 60 he appears not to have left the Persian quarters until after the discovery made by the Persian cavalry.

18. *οὐ φεύγειν* 'never fly'; "the infinitive in indirect discourse regularly has *οὐ*, to retain the negative of the direct discourse", G. p. 308.

22. *καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρέομεν διαδράντας* 'we all see that they have actually run right away'. The *καὶ* belongs to *διαδράντας*.

24. *διακριθῆναι*, cp. p. 9, l. 28, p. 32, l. 12 for the sense of *διά*, 'to be matched against'.

*οὐδένες ἄρα ἔόντες...ἐναπεδεικνύατο* 'that being, as it turns out, mere ciphers, it was only because the other Greeks were as insignificant that you kept up a show among them'. Cp. 7, 14; and the bitterest term of reproach among the early English 'nothing'.

25. *ἐναπεδεικνύατο* for *-υντο*, App. D. II. a. And for this *ἐν* in comp. cp. *ἐμμαχέσασθαι* p. 5, l. 6.

27. *τοῖσί τι καὶ συνηδέατε* [*συνῆδεν* pluperf. with imperf. sense] 'who were the best you knew of', lit. 'in whom you did actually know that there was something'. Ab. quotes 8, 113 *καὶ εἰ τέοισι τι χρηστὸν συνῆδε πεποιημένον*.

28. *θῶμα ἐποιεύμην*=*ἐθώμαζον* governing the gen. of the person, but *καταρρωδήσαντα* is attracted into the acc. as subject of the infinitive *ἀποδέξασθαι* (*δείκνυμι*).

38 3—4. *ἀναζεύξαντας*, cp. p. 27, l. 1. *τὸ ἄστυ*, see on p. 2, l.

15. *ἔτι* in threats, see on p. 50, l. 13.

5—6. *ἐτέρωθι* 'elsewhere', i.e. in the presence of the king. *λόγος* 'mention'.

6. *οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα* 'we must not let them have their own way', cp. *πολεμητέα* Thucyd. 1, 79, 3; *παριτητέα* ib. 72, 2; *πλευστέα* ib. 6,



25, 2; βαδιστέα, ἐμπορευτέα Aristoph. *Acharn.* 395, 480. It does not seem in any way distinguishable from the singular.

8. τῶν δὴ=πάντων τὰ δὴ 'for all they have done'. For the attraction of relative to the case of a suppressed antecedent, see G. § 153, 1.

## CHAPTER LIX.

9—10. δρόμῳ 'at the double', opposed to βάδην p. 36, l. 26. κατὰ στρίβον 'on the track of the Greeks', cp. ἐπόμενοι κατὰ στρίβον 5, 102. διαβάοντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν, the Asopos at this time of the year (Aug.-Sept.) would be a small brook easily crossed. ὡς δὴ 'looking upon them as trying to run away'. For δὴ marking the thought of some one other than the writer see p. 6, l. 25, and Index.

11. ἐπέιχε 'he covered only the Lakedaemonians and Tegeans', i.e. he concentrated his line of attack upon these only. For this sense of ἐπέιχε cp. p. 20, l. 23.

13. ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων 'owing to the high ground between them'. The Athenians had taken the right or lower road, the Persians following the direction of the Spartan march were much to the left of them and were prevented by intervening high ground from seeing them. On the other hand the Athenian right would be near the road from Thebes to Plataea, and would naturally therefore fall in with the Theban cavalry.

15. τελέων p. 13, l. 3.

16. ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστος εἶχον 'as fast as they could each of them walk', and they therefore straggled as their pace differed. For the phrase cp. 6, 116. Aeschyl. *Suppl.* 837 σοῦσθε, σοῦσθε ἐπὶ βᾶριν ὅπως ποδῶν.

18. ὁμίλῳ *tumultu*. Cp. 3, 127 σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ.

ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι 'thinking to snap up the Greeks as an easy prey', 'to make short work of the Greeks', cp. 8, 28.

## CHAPTER LX.

20. προσεκέετο 'as soon as the cavalry began attacking', cp. p. 37, l. 8.

26. δέδοκται 'it has become manifest'. τὸ ἐνθεύτεν 'henceforth', p. 7, l. 5.

3. χρὴν δὴ ἡμέας 'it would of course have been our duty'. 39

5. νῦν δέ 'but as it is'.

6—7. τῶν μοιρέων the divisions of the combined army.

8. καταλελάβηκε, for the form see App. E. (b). For the meaning of καταλαμβάνω 'to happen to', 'to overtake', see p. 47, l. 21.

ὑμεῖς δ' for δὲ in an apodosis cp. p. 45, l. 18.

9. τοὺς τοξότας...θέσθε 'send us your bowmen and thus lay us under a lasting obligation'. For the bowmen of the Athenians see on p. 13, l. 25. For θέσθαι χάριν 'to store up gratitude for oneself' cp. 6, 41 δοκέοντες χάριτα μεγάλην καταθήσασθαι.

10. ὑπὸ τὸν παρόντα πόλεμον 'in and through this present war', p. 37, l. 21.

## CHAPTER LXI.

14. οἱ ἀντιπαθόντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, that is, the Boeotians, c. 67. They would be likely to be in or near the well-known road from Thebes to Plataea, by which they eventually retreated.

18. πεντακισμύριοι, see c. 28, where the numbers are:

Spartans and Helots..... 40,000

Other Lakedaemonians ..... 5,000

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45,000

The balance of 5,000 must have consisted of Perioeki, who had come in since the army was in Boeotia; similarly 1,500 Tegean light-armed must be added to the 1,500 Tegean hoplites mentioned in c. 28.

21. καὶ οὐ γὰρ 'and because the sacrifices did not etc.' Cp. p. 54, l. 12. οὐ γὰρ...χρηστά gives the reason, καὶ ἐπιπτον τε...καὶ ἐτραυματίζοντο the effect: 'Many fell because they were compelled to stand inactive for a long time by the unfavourable nature of the sacrifices'.

24. φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα 'having fixed their long wicker shields into the ground to form a defence'. "The wicker shield seems to have been adopted from the Assyrians, on whose monuments it not unfrequently occurs". Rawlinson.

25. ἀπίεσαν, App. A. i. 6.

40 2. ἀποβλέψαντα...πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον 'having fixed his eyes on the Hereum', which was outside Plataea, about a quarter of a mile to his left, c. 52. ἀποβλέπειν implies turning *from* other things *to* some particular object.

## CHAPTER LXII.

9—11. χρόνῳ κοτὲ *tandem aliquando* (St.). μετέντες, App. A. i. 6. περὶ with acc. indicates a less close connexion than with gen. See p. 41, l. 20.

12—13. ἐπεπτώκει 'had been knocked down', by the charge of the Greeks. χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν p. 5, l. 10.

15. λήματι καὶ ῥώμῃ 'in courage and bodily strength'.

17. ἄνοπλοι 'without shields', which they had stuck in the ground, and which were now trampled down and useless; and also without body armour, p. 41, l. 1. Yet some of the Persians had coats of mail, see 8, 113.

καὶ πρὸς 'and besides', adverb. Cf. p. 20, l. 10.

19. κατ' ἓνα καὶ δέκα 'singly or in bodies of ten'.

### CHAPTER LXIII.

24. τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους 'the picked thousand', cf. τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην whom Mardonius had selected to stay with him when the greater part of the army returned with Xerxes, see 8, 113.

25. ἐπίεσαν 'pressed hard', p. 39, l. 6.

28. ἀπέθανε 'was killed'. ἀποθανεῖν is regularly used to serve as a passive of ἀποκτείνειν.

29. ἔπεσε, passive of κατέβαλλον l. 27. The whole 1000 are not said to be killed, but to be put *hors de combat*.

οὕτω δὲ, see Index.

### CHAPTER LXIV.

3—5. ἐνθαῦτα, App. A. 1. 2. ἐπετελέετο 'was being accom- 41 plished'.

6. τῶν, p. 38, l. 8, attraction of relative.

8. εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην 'have been mentioned with reference to Leonidas', see 7, 204. Cf. p. 28, l. 24.

9—10. ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ, p. 40, l. 28. λογίμου, p. 9, l. 22. χρόνῳ ὕστερον 'some time afterwards' i.e. about B.C. 464 in the Third Messenian war, see Histor. Index. ε.νν. *Stenykleros*, and, *Messenian war*.

15. οὐδένα κόσμον, see p. 42, l. 14; p. 43, l. 14.

### CHAPTER LXV.

16. ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον...ξύλινον, see on p. 9, l. 12, 'into their own camp and so into the wooden fortification which they made in the Theban territory'.

Stein thinks this passage decisive in favour of his view that the palisade was on the S. bank of the Asopos, for if not (1) there would be no need to distinguish between the στρατόπεδον and



the ξύλιον τεῖχος, (2) the words ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαῶδι would be superfluous, which according to his explanation are introduced to distinguish between the camp in the Plataean territory and the τεῖχος in the Theban. I cannot accept this argument with confidence. It seems to me that the words of Herodotos mean that the Persians fled to their camp, and not only so but *continued* their flight until they reached the τεῖχος, which he adds [referring to his own words in c. 15 ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἡν] was in the Theban territory.

20. οὔτε ἐναποθανῶν 'nor was killed in it'. See on p. 40, l. 28. ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ (βαίνω) 'unconsecrated', lit. 'which may be trodden on'. Thucyd. 4, 97, 2, and Pollux 1, 9 ὁ δὲ ἔξω (τόπος) βέβηλος.

περὶ τε 'but round the outside'; cf. p. 40, l. 11.

23. ἐμπρήσαντας ἀνάκτορον. Cobet would omit ἀνάκτορον as unnecessary. It means the shrine, the inner part of the temple [lit. the house of the ἀναξ]. Herodotos has not related the burning of the temple of Eleusis, nor is it recorded elsewhere. Probably the attempt to do so was not entirely successful.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

25. αὐτίκα 'at the time', κατ' ἀρχάς 'originally'.

42 1. λειπομένου ἀπὸ βασιλέος 'separating from the king and staying behind'. ἀπὸ is not quite = ὑπὸ of agency, for leaving Mardonius behind was not the king's doing entirely.

2—3. οὐκ ἔων, see on p. 1, l. 13.

4. τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι 'the tactics originated by Mardonius'.

7. ὅκως = ὡς 'when'. ἐγίνετο 'was taking place'.

9. κατηρημένως 'in good order', cp. 3, 80 κῶς ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρημένον μοναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῃ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ...τῇ ἂν 'exactly the same way as he did'.

10—11. ὅκως ἂν...σπουδῆς 'with the same amount of speed as'.

12—13. δῆθεν 'as he pretended', 'professedly'. See δὴ p. 6, l. 25; p. 38, l. 10. καὶ δὴ 'already', see p. 3, l. 20 and Index. οὕτω δὴ, see p. 3, l. 22 and Index.

14—15. τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον, cp. p. 41, l. 15. τὴν ταχίστην, sc. ὁδόν. ἐτρόχαζε a frequentative of τρέχω, 'he made all speed'.

## CHAPTER LXVII.

19. τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος 'those on the king's side', ἐθελοκακεόντων 'deliberately shirking the fight'.

24. ἔπεισον, see on p. 40, l. 29.

27. οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος 'and without having displayed any valour'.

### CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. δηλοῖ used impersonally 'it is evident', cp. 2, 117.

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3. ὅτι καὶ... ὥρων 'at the mere sight of'. App. D. I. (e).

6. πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων 'on the side nearest the enemy', i.e. between their own men and the enemy: cp. p. 8, l. 23.

### CHAPTER LXIX.

11—12. τοῖσι... Ἡραῖον, see c. 52.

15. οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους 'the Corinthians and those immediately near them', that is the Potidaeans, Orchomenians, and others, see p. 19, l. 4—6.

17. ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ 'straight towards the temple', cp. p. 56, l. 1 and 8, 38 ἰθὺ τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἔφειγον. Also ἰθὺς ἐπὶ, 5, 64.

18. τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν 'the most level of the roads', that is the road from Plataea to Thebes.

20. ἀπιδόντες 'having seen them from a distance', 'having sighted them'. Cf. 8, 37 ἐπεὶ ἀγχοῦ τε ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπίοντες καὶ ἀπώρεον τὸ ἱρόν.

21. ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους 'rode their horses at them'. Herod. often uses ἐλαύνειν without such accusative as = 'to ride', see p. 55, l. 22.

1. κατήραξαν 'drove them in utter confusion'.

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### CHAPTER LXX.

3. ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ 'without honour', 'with no account taken of them', cf. 1, 1 § 3 τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος. Cf. 7, 16.

8. σφι, i.e. the defenders.

9. τειχομαχίῃ 'assault and defence of the wall'. ἐρρωμεν-στέρη 'more severe than might have been expected from a beaten army'.

10. οἱ δέ, for this δέ in apodosis see p. 39, l. 18.

11. ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχεῖν. The Spartans were usually unsuccessful in storming walls or forts. Lykurgos was said to have expressly discouraged the Spartans practising this particular kind of warfare, on the ground that in it brave men might fall by the hand of women or children or other feeble persons. Plutarch

*Aporrhth. Lac. 25.* For instances of their failure see Herod. 5, 65; Thucyd. 1, 102; 4, 8. The first of these passages relates how they besieged the Acropolis and gave it up in a very few days; the second recounts their long and unsuccessful attack upon the revolted Helots on Ithome, and the third their disastrous attempts upon Pylos. ὥστε=ὡς, p. 24, l. 12.

12. οὕτω δὴ 'it was only when this came about that a vigorous assault took place'.

14—15. λιπαρήν, see on p. 13, l. 14. ἐπέβησαν τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον 'they got a footing on the wall and made a breach in it'. τῇ δὴ 'by which entrance it was that'.

16. τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου. This was the king's tent left behind for the use of Mardonius, see c. 82.

21. ἐς τὼντὸ 'into the common stock,' the distribution of which is recorded in c. 80.

24. ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο 'thought of showing fight'; another poetical expression. St. quotes Hom. *Il.* 6, 112 *ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς*.

24—5. ἀλύκταζον...ἀνθρώπων, 'they were beside themselves with terror, as was natural to a panic-stricken crowd of many myriads huddled together in a narrow space'. ἀλύκταζον, which only occurs here, seems to be a frequentative form from ἀλύω 'to wander in mind', 'to be distracted', cp. *ἐτρόχαζε* p. 42, l. 15 from *τρέχω*.

45 1. τριήκοντα...περιγενέσθαι 'so that out of 360,000 (not counting the 40,000 who escaped with Mardonius) not 3000 survived'. This number of slain seems incredible, especially as many of the Persians were mounted and must have been able to effect an escape. Diodoros [11, 32] reckons the slain at a more moderate figure, somewhat over 100,000.

4. ἀπέθανον, see p. 40, l. 28.

## CHAPTER LXXI.

7. πεζὸς ὁ Περσέων, see c. 68.

13. κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, cp. p. 1, l. 16.

16. εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην 'was labouring under reproach and the loss of all honour'. In 7, 231 Herodotos says that when Aristodemus returned to Sparta after Thermopylae no Spartan would give him a light or speak to him, and he was called contemptuously ὁ τρέσας ('the man who trembled'). The ὄνειδος refers us to verbal



insult, the ἀτιμία to other marks of dishonour; it is not used in the technical sense of 'loss of civil rights'.

19. λέσχης 'a discussion', of an informal character, the Spartans meeting to talk over the event as they would in the λέσχη or club-house at home.

ὅς=τίς, cp. p. 35, l. 25 and 8, 40 βουλευέσονται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται.

21, 24. ἀποθανεῖν...ἀποθνήσκειν. The shade of difference indicated by this change of tense seems difficult to convey or even to catch. Aristodemos wished to be killed and have done with it, Poseidonios had no wish to be among the dying—those that were falling round him.

τοσοῦτω 'by so much', 'to that degree'. For the principle on which this decision was based cp. the words of Perikles [Thucyd. 2, 43, 5] οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγούντες δικαιότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν τοῦ βλου, οἷς ἐλπίς οὐκ ἔστ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα, ἦν τι πταίσωσιν.

27. τίμιοι 'honoured', i.e. with special grave and monument, or with yearly offerings. See on p. 15, l. 21.

## CHAPTER LXXII.

6. ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο, see p. 39, l. 20—3.

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8. ἔδυσθανάτεε 'he struggled against death', 'he was very loth to die'. Cp. Plat. *Rep.* 406 B Ἡρόδικος δυσθανατῶν ὑπὸ σοφίας εἰς γῆρας ἀφίκετο 'Herodikos managed by means of medical skill to fight against death, and so arrived at old age'.

10. ὅτι...ἀποθνήσκει 'that he was dying'.

11. οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ 'had not had the opportunity of striking a blow', cp. p. 31, l. 24.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

15. Δεκελεῖθεν. The locative termination -θεν of the deme name Δεκελή [Att. Δεκέλεια] is in apposition to the genitive δήμου. The Attic form according to Stephanos Byz. was Δεκελειᾶθεν.

20. ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους 'were desolating the cantons'. ἀνίστημι in this phrase means to remove the inhabitants, cf. Thucyd. 6, 5, 3 ἀναστάτων τῶν Καμαριναίων γενομένων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων. id. 1, 12, 3 Βοιωτοὶ ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν ἀναστάντες τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν ὤκισαν.

ὑπεξεκέετο 'was removed to and concealed'.

22. τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι 'at the high-handed proceedings of Theseus'; that is, probably, not only at his abduction of Helen, but, at his policy of concentrating all Attica under one government. See Hist. Index s.v. *Theseus*.

23. περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ 'fearing that the whole Attic territory would be injured by the Dioscuri'.

27. ἀτέλειά τε καὶ προεδρίῃ 'freedom from all alien's tax, if residing at Sparta, and seats of honour at festivals'. Cp. 1, 54. The Spartans, as we have seen p. 5, l. 26, were very chary of encouraging the residence of strangers at Sparta; but this sort of special arrangement with particular towns or cantons did not probably involve more than temporary and casual visits.

28. ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον, that is the Peloponnesian war [B.C. 432—404]. Some have thought that the famous occupation of Dekelea in B.C. 413 is alluded to. But this is much later than any event mentioned by Herodotos. The Spartan invasion meant is probably that of B.C. 430 under Archidamos, who ravaged some of the demes between Parnes and Brilessos, starting from Acharnae [Thucyd. 2, 23, 1].

47 3. Δεκελῆς ἀποσχέσθαι. It is suspicious that Thucydides should not have mentioned either the fact of the Spartans sparing Dekelea or their motive. He probably regarded their not going so far as merely resulting from the remote and strong position of the place, and as not calling for any remark; while the antiquarian mind of Herodotos, hearing in Magna Graecia the report of what was going on, immediately fastened on this legendary incident as accounting for the abstinence of the Peloponnesians, which might as well have been explained by ordinary strategical reasons.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

5. διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει 'has two different stories told about him'. Cf. 3, 32 ἀμφὶ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διξὸς λέγεται λόγος. [διξὸς=δισσός App. A. 1. 6.]

8. βαλέσκειτο 'he used always to cast'. For the frequentative form without augment, see App. D. 1. f.

9. ἵνα δῇ 'in order, as he said, that the enemy might not move him'. For this sense of δῇ see p. 6, l. 25; p. 38, l. 10.

11. δέδοκτο [for the form see App. D. I. footnote 1] 'it was his plan'. Cp. p. 38, l. 26.

13. ἀμφισβητέων 'giving a different version'.

14—16. ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος...σιδηρέην 'a painted device of an anchor, and not a real one of iron'. The use of devices on shields was an ancient one in Greece; see the account of the devices on the shields of the assailants of Thebes in Aeschylus, *Sept. c. Th.* 382 sq. and the description of the shield of Achilles in *Il.* 18, 477 sq.

## CHAPTER LXXV.

18. ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἰγίναν 'that when the Athenians were besieging Aegina he challenged and slew Eurybates'. This refers to the events of B.C. 491. The Aeginetans had given earth and water to the emissaries of Darius, whereupon the Athenians appealed to Sparta to force the islanders to give hostages for their loyalty to the Greek cause. These hostages were deposited at Athens, and the demand for their restoration led to a war of reprisals between Athens and Aegina, and eventually to an unsuccessful blockade of the latter by the former. [Herod. 6, 85—93.]

19. ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον 'a victor in the Pentathlon', see on p. 22, l. 19. ἐκ προκλήσιος 'on a challenge'.

21. κατέλαβε 'it befell', impersonal, cp. p. 39, l. 8, and 6, 38 Στῆσαγῶρεα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ἄπαιδα.

23. ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἡδωνῶν, cp. p. 40, l. 28, and Index. For the expedition, see Historical Index s. vv. *Leagros*, and *Datum*.

περὶ τῶν μετάλλων. The possession of this gold mine was not only disputed by the Edonian Thracians, but also by the inhabitants of the opposite island of Thasos. Thucyd. 1, 100. The mines continued for many years to be productive and were the origin of the wealth of Philip of Macedon.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

25—6. τοῖσι Ἕλλησι...κατεστρώντο 'had been utterly crushed and dispersed by the Greeks'; for the dat. of agent after perf. or pluperf. passive, see p. 17, l. 5.

27. αὐτόμολος 'coming voluntarily from the enemy'.

4. τῶν παρευσέων 'of what she had with her'.

5—6. ἄρμαμάξης 'covered car', used especially for women, see



7, 83. *ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας* 'while still engaged in the slaughter'.

10. *βασιλεῦ*. Pausanias was not king, see c. 10, but as representing the king might well be so addressed by a foreigner, and especially by a woman thus circumstanced.

11. *ἔς τόδε ὤνησας* sc. *ἐμέ*, 'thank you for what you have already done'. For this use of *ὤνησας* see Aristoph. *Lys.* 1033 the old woman takes a mosquito off the old man, who replies, *νῆ Δι' ὤνησάς γε μ', ὥς πάλαι γέ μ' ἐφρεωρύχει* 'Mon dieu, thanks! It has been digging great pits into me ever so long'. The aorist is used in such expressions indicating *immediate* acceptance or rejection on the part of the speaker, cp. the use of *ἐπήνεσα* 'no thank you!'

12. *ὄπιν* 'reverence', cp. 8, 143. It is a word used chiefly by the poets, and always in Homer in the sense of 'vengeance from the gods', cf. also Theocritus 25, 4 *Ἑρμῆω ἀζόμενος δεινὴν ὄπιν εἰνοδίοιο*. In Pindar *Olymp.* 2, 9 it = 'object of reverence', and in *Isth.* 4, 58 'eager pursuit'; and the verb *ὀπίζεσθαι* = 'to reverence', see *Pyth.* 4, 86.

16. *εἰ δὴ* 'if as you say', or, 'if indeed'.

20. *τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεούσι*. Two Ephors in later times always accompanied a Spartan king on an expedition. Xenoph. *Rep. Lac.* 13, 5; St. In everything touching on political or constitutional arrangements their authority would be supreme, but they were inferior to him in distinctly military matters; nor does it appear that, as early as this, their being with the king was the invariable rule. Rawlinson points out that Pausanias had no Ephor with him when he was recalled from Byzantium (Thucyd. 1, 131), nor Pleistoanax in B.C. 445, nor Agis until B.C. 418 [Thucyd. 5, 63].

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

24. *ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι* 'when all was over', see Index s.v. *ἐπί*, and p. 16, l. 16.

26. *ἐποιεῦντο* 'regarded it as', see Index s.v. *ποιεῖσθαι*.

*ἀξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι* 'and they deserved, they said, to be fined'. The subject of *ζημιῶσαι* is indefinite, 'that they (the Greek commanders) should fine them'.

28. *ἐδίωκον* 'were for pursuing'.

2. *ἐδίωξαν* 'banished'.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

14—16. καταθέσθαι 'to lay up for yourself', cp. on p. 39, l. 9. τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις 'the sequel of these achievements', 'what is necessary to complete them'. λόγος 'reputation'.

17. τις, see on p. 11, l. 18.

18. μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων 'not to set the example of arrogant outrage upon Greeks'. The word ἀτάσθαλα is again Homeric, and not used in Attic prose: see 8, 109; 7, 35.

19—21. Δεωνίδεω γὰρ...ἀνεσταύρωσαν, see 7, 238 where this outrage is said to have been by the special command of Xerxes.

24. ἀνασκολοπίσας 'impaled', σκόλοψ = 'a pointed stake' 9, 97. τετιμωρήσεται mid. 'you will have exacted vengeance'. πάτρων 'uncle', see *Histor. Index* s.v. *Pausanias*, and c. 10.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

27. τὸ εὐνοέειν ἄγαμαί σευ 'I admire your goodwill', lit. the goodwill in you, cp. 8, 144 ὑμέων τὴν προνοιὴν ἄγαμαι. Sometimes it governs the gen. of the thing or person admired, ἄγασθαι ἔφη τοῦ Ἑρασίνου, 6, 76, sometimes followed by dat. ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ, 4, 75. For the present construction compare that of θαυμάζω τι, or τινός, or τι τινός.

2. ἐς τὸ μηδὲν 'to utter nothingness'.

4. ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι 'that I shall enjoy a better reputation'. Cf. ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, 8, 93.

5—6. καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν 'and even in their case we feel indignation', cp. the meaning of ἐπίφθονος in 4, 205 ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γέγονται 'excessively severe acts of vengeance invoke the jealous anger of the gods'. καὶ—δὲ 'and even', 'and too'. For this idiomatic use of καὶ...δὲ with the word to be qualified coming between them, see numerous examples in Dr Holden's *Lexicon* to Xen. *Oecon.* p. 63\*. δ' ὦν 'be that as it may', dismissing the subject. τούτου εἵνεκεν 'as far as such an action is concerned', 'on such terms'.

8. ὅσια 'consonant with piety'.

10. μεγάλως τετιμωρήσθαι impersonal, 'great vengeance has been wrought for Leonidas'.

13—15. ἔτι see p. 38, l. 4. χάριν...ἀπαθῆς 'be thankful that you are not suffering for it as it is.'

## CHAPTER LXXX.

21—3. κρητῆρες (κεράννυμι) are large mixing bowls; φιάλαι (paterae) are flat shallow cups, or what we should call saucers; λέβητες are larger vessels, kettles, basins, or pans.

25. ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοὺς 'bracelets and chains'; for the Persian habit of wearing these see Xenoph. *Oecon.* 4, 23, Lysander looked admiringly at Cyrus, ἰδὼν...τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψέλων τὸ κάλλος. But the less exalted Persians also wore them, see Plutarch, *Themist.* 18, where the Persian corpses after Salamis are described as lying on the beach περικειμένους ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ στρεπτοὺς. See also 7, 88; 8, 113.

26. τοὺς ἀκινάκας 'the scimitars with gold, or gilded, hilts and handles'. The scimitar was a short straight sword. The article is used to denote the well-known Persian weapon (St.). Cp. Hor. *Od.* 1, 27, 5 *vino et lucernis Medus acinaces* | *immane quantum discrepat*.

27. λόγος 'no account at all was taken'; cp. 8, 102 Μαρδονίου δέ, ἦν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεταί.

ἐνθαῦτα 'in that business'.

51 1. ἐπώλειον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινίτας 'sold to the Aeginetans'. The Aeginetans were the great commercial people of Greece until the Dorian inhabitants were expelled by their successful rivals the Athenians in B.C. 431 [Thucyd. 2, 27; 7, 57, 2]. They were therefore well acquainted with the value of the goods, and also ready to traffic on such advantageous terms.

3. ὥστε...ἐγένοντο. It may have been a common rumour in the days of Herodotos, which the enemies of Aegina would take care to spread, that the Aeginetans laid the foundation of their wealth in this discreditable manner. But as a matter of fact the island had already in the 5th and 6th centuries B.C. been the chief seat of commerce in Greece. The standard coinage introduced by Phidon of Argos about B.C. 750 was called Aeginetan, probably because of the extensive commercial connexions of the island; and it was the continual rivalry of the island in such matters that caused the enmity of Athens, and determined the Athenians to destroy the prosperity of its Dorian inhabitants.

4. ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν 'as though it were, as they pretended, mere brass'. For δῆθεν see p. 42, l. 12. The ignorance of the Helots is not incredible. Gold coins were little known at this



time in Greece, and the currency at Sparta, as apparently in Byzantium, was iron. Arist. *Nubes* 250.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

6. **δεκάτην...ὄφις τοῦ χαλκίου.** This stand of three twisted serpents with their heads projecting to receive the three feet of the tripod was seen by Pausanias (2nd century A.D.) and is now existing in Constantinople, whither it was taken by the Emperor Constantine; but the golden tripod which rested upon it had been taken away by the Phokians in the Third Sacred War [B.C. 363]. Pausan. 10, 13, 9. On the tripod Pausanias caused a couplet to be inscribed assigning the honour of beating the Persians to himself—

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων  
Παυσανίης Φοίβῳ μνημ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

But the Spartans, considering this an act of presumption, caused the verse to be erased, and instead of it had the names of the states, which can still be partially read, engraved on the coils of the brazen serpents. [Thucyd. 1, 132.]

8. **ἀγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ** 'very close to the altar', that is, the great altar standing in front of the temple.

9. **καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες** sc. **δεκάτην.** The tenth was the usual proportion of the spoils dedicated, see 8, 27. But on this occasion it appears from Herodotos' words that three-tenths are dedicated to sacred purposes. The statue of Zeus at Olympia was seen by Pausanias, who gives a list of the states whose names were inscribed on its pedestal [5, 23]. These are the *Lakedaemonians*, *Athenians*, *Korinthians*, *Sikyonians*, *Aeginetans*, *Megarians*, *Epidaurians*, *Tegeans*, *Orchomenians* (of Arkadia), *Phliasians*, *Troezenians*, *Hermionians*, *Tirynthians*, *Plataeans*, *Mykeneans*, *Keians*, *Melians*, *Ambrakiots*, *Lepreatae* (Triphylians), *Tenians*, *Naxians*, *Kythnians*, *Styrians* (Euboea), *Eleans*, *Potidaetans*, *Anaktorians*, *Chalkidians* (Euboea).

This list should be compared with that given by Herodotos in c. 28—30. It will be seen that Herodotos omits the Eleans and the five island folk of Kos, Melos, Tenos, Naxos, and Kythnos; and mentions the Eretrians and Paleans, who do not appear in the list given by Pausanias. But that the Eleans were present he mentions in c. 77. The omission of the Mantineans in the inscription as well

as in the list in c. 28 seems to indicate that they had been absent from the original levy, as well as failed to come on the ground until after the camp was taken; for the Eleans who equally came late for the fight were inscribed on the statue.

10. τῷ ἐν Ἴσθμῷ θεῷ, that is 'to Poseidon', whose temple stood about seven miles east of Korinth, close to the diolkos or ship tramway.

18. πάντα δέκα 'a tenth of everything', see 4, 88 Δαρειῶς τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα τῆς σχεδῆς ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα (St.).

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

22. τὴν κατασκευὴν 'his war-tent and its fittings', see p. 44, l. 16—20.

29. εὖ ἐστρωμένas 'furnished with comfortable cushions'.

52 1. παρασκευήν, *paratum* 'the laying out'. Compare this use of παρασκευή, of a temporary arrangement, with that of κατασκευή for a more permanent construction, like that of the war-tent.

2. ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα 'struck with admiration of the richness of the banquet set out'. ἐκπλήττεσθαι followed by the accusative is an example of a construction κατὰ σύνεσιν. It is equivalent to θαυμάζειν, and is constructed accordingly. Cp. 3, 148 ὅπως ἰδοῖτο τὰ ποτήρια ἀπεθωύμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο. But sometimes it is followed by the dative, in the sense of 'terrified', see 4, 4; 7, 226.

3. ἐπὶ γέλῳτι 'by way of a joke', 'with a view of a jest', cp. ἐπὶ θανάτῳ p. 24, l. 11.

5. ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον 'the difference was great'. Cp. 1, 126 οἱ δὲ εἶπον πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτέων τὸ μέσον.

8. δεικνύντα ἐς 'pointing to', cp. 4, 150 ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάπτον. L. and Sc. quote Hom. *Hymn Merc.* 367 δείξατο δ' εἰς Κρονίῳνα.

11. δέξαι, App. E. οἷζυρήν, this adjective is again wholly confined to the poets [*Il.* 13, 569 etc.], though it survived in common language as a term of reproach, equivalent to the French *misérable*, ὥζυρέ, see Arist. *N.* 655; *Vesp.* 1504, 1514.

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

14. πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς 'in the presence of the generals', see on p. 10, l. 22.

18. **συνεφόρεον**. The bodies of the Persians appear to have been roughly covered with earth where they fell, and when they had decayed their bones were collected into a single pit. The Greeks would perform no rites of sepulture over barbarians.

19—20. **κεφαλή οὐκ ἔχουσα ραφήν** 'a skull without a seam'. This is by no means an unknown phenomenon. Specimens may be seen in most museums of skulls that shew no trace of the post-infantile joining of the bone.

22. **ὀδόντας μουνοφύεας** 'teeth all in one piece'. This was also related of Pyrrhus (Plutarch *Pyrrh.* 3) and a son of Prusias, king of Bithynia (Valer. Max. 1, 8; Plin. *N. H.* 7, § 60). Rawl. The scientific explanation of this phenomenon is that the growth of tartar on the teeth in some cases causes them to present the appearance of being in one piece, though that is not really the case.

23. **γομφίους** 'double teeth' or 'grinders'.

## CHAPTER LXXXIV.

25. **ἐπεὶ τε δέ** 'but when the body of Mardonius had disappeared next day',—the sentence expressing the apodosis or consequence to this clause is wanting. The writer is led away from completing his sentence by the necessity of explaining the difficulty of determining the question as to who really did bury Mardonius.

1—2. **πολλοὺς τινὰς ἤδη...ἤκουσα** 'I have been told before 53 now of a good many men as the buriers of Mardonius'. **πολλοὺς τινὰς** 'several different men'.

**θάψαι Μαρδόνιον**. In after-ages a mound near Hysiae was pointed out as the tomb of Mardonius [Paus. 9, 2, 2].

5. **ὑπελόμενος** 'took it secretly away', from the heaps of slain.

6—7. **ἔχει τινὰ φάτιν** 'has the credit according to some'; also **φάτις ἔχει τούτους** 8, 94; but cp. 5, 66 **Κλεισθένης λόγον ἔχει τὴν Πυθίην ἀναπεῖσαι** 'has the credit of having bribed the Pythia'. [Ab.]. See also p. 47, l. 5.

## CHAPTER LXXXV.

11. **τριξάς**, cp. **διξὸς** p. 47, l. 5. App. A. i. 6.

12. **τοὺς ἱρένας** the title which distinguished the young men of Sparta from 20 to 30. In the first two years of this period the youth was called **πρωτεῖρης**, in the rest **σφαιρεύς**, at 30 he was **ἀνὴρ**. But the distinction between the different stages of the **ἐρῆν** would not



always be observed in speaking of the class, who would be called in general terms *ῥήνες* or *ἐρῆνες*. The word is said by Hesychios to mean 'commander'. See Müller's *Dorians* vol. 2 p. 309; Plutarch *Lycurg.* 17.

16. πάντας ἀλέας all in one grave without distinction of ranks.

18. τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας, see c. 69.

22. ἀπειστοὶ (ἀπειστώ) = ἀπουσίᾳ.

23. τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἀνθρώπων 'future generations'.

25. καὶ δέκα 'as much as ten years after'.

27. πρόξεινον. Not only did individuals in different states stand to each other in the relation of *proxeni* or 'guest-friends', but whole states selected certain individuals in other states to hold this relation of mutual benefit to them. Thus Alexander of Macedon was a *πρόξενος* of the Athenians (8, 143). The position of such men was something of the nature of consuls resident in foreign states, but bound to their states with which they were so connected by only moral obligations. For instances see Thuc. 2, 29, 1; 3, 70, 1; 5, 59, 5.

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

54 5. ἀνὰ πρώτους 'principal', is a mere variation of ἐν πρώτοις for the sake of avoiding repetition.

7. πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι = πρὶν ἂν ἐξέλωσι [see l. 15] 'until they had taken it' (πόλιν): this subjunctive is caused by the indirect oration, and answers to the future indirect which would have stood οὐκ ἀναστησόμεθα πρότερον ἢ ἐξαιρήσομεθα or πρὶν ἂν ἐξέλωμεν]. Cp. 7, 54 εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον· μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχίην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἢ μιν παύσει... πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι γένηται. The same construction occurs with πρὶν ἢ in 7, 10 in *oratio recta*: and in poetry ἂν is omitted sometimes, as in Soph. *Phil.* 917 μὴ στέναζε πρὶν μάθης. See Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* pp. 144—6.

11. προσέβαλλον 'kept making assaults upon'.

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

12. καὶ οὐ γάρ, see p. 39, l. 21.

15. πρότερον... ἢ ἐξέλωσι, see on l. 7.

17. ἀναπλήσῃ 'to endure', 'to fill up the measure of', cp. 5, 4 ὅσα μιν δέει, ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο, ἀναπλήσαι κακά. 6, 12 τίνα δαιμόνων παραβάντες τάδε ἀναπimplαμεν;

18. πρόσχημα 'as a pretext'. It may be considered as an accusative in apposition to ἡμέας, or to the clause.

19. τοῦ κοινοῦ 'the public treasury', τῷ κοινῷ 'the community'. For the two meanings of τὸ κοινὸν see 6, 14 τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σαμίων, and 7, 144 γενομένων χρημάτων μεγάλων ἐν τῷ κοινῷ.

22. ἐς ἀντιλογίην 'to plead our cause', 'to stand our trial', see p. 55, l. 2.

24. θέλοντες 'expressing their readiness'.

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

25—26. ἐπὶ τούτοις sc. λόγοις p. 23, l. 4.

27. ἀπαχθέντας 'arrested and brought before him', cp. 6, 119 ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἶδὲ σφεας ἀπαχθέντας παρ' ἐωντὸν καὶ ὑποχειρίους ἐωντῷ ἐόντας.

2. ἀντιλογίης p. 54, l. 22. The Spartans assume the right of 55 trying these men by a kind of international tribunal, as they did afterwards in the case of the Plataeans [Thucyd. 3, 52—68]. καὶ δὴ χρήμασι 'and by means of money as they calculated'. For δὴ shewing the thought of a person other than the writer, see p. 6, l. 25 and index.

3. διωθέεσθαι sc. τὴν αἰτίην 'they should repel the charge', cp. Demosth. 555 διωθεῖσθαι ψευδῇ λόγον καὶ συκοφαντίαν. αὐτὰ ταῦτα i.e. the likelihood of bribery.

5. ἐς Κόρινθον, or rather to the Isthmus of Korinth, where the πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος (international councillors) met. See 7, 145 and 195. Stein.

## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

8. καὶ δὴ 'already', p. 3, l. 20 and Index.

12—16. γνούς...ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος, the subject is picked up again by the second participle, which renews and amplifies the former.

16. πρὸς τοὺς Φωκίας, for the Phokians were in a great measure already hostile, see p. 21, l. 12—14.

22. οὗτος 'yonder', pointing south towards Boeotia. κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ 'close behind me'.

23. εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε 'display your good offices'.

24. ἐς χρόνον 'hereafter', 'eventually', cf. οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται, 3, 72.

- 56 1. **ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης**, see p. 43, l. 17.
2. **τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ** 'keeping the inland route', i.e. through Macedonia, not by the road which followed the coast, but by one which led from Therma to Akanthos through Poëonia and Krestonia, 7, 124. For the form of **μεσόγαιαν** see App. C, 2nd decl. 3.
- τάμνων**, cp. 4, 136 **οὐ τετμημένων τῶν ὁδῶν** 'the roads not having been made'.
5. **συστάντας** 'overpowered by hunger and fatigue', cf. 7, 170 **λίμῳ συστεῶτας**, 8, 74 **τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν**.



## HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

### ACHAEANS, c. 26.

The inhabitants of Achaia, the northern district of the Peloponnese. The *Achaioi* in the time of Homer inhabited Argolis, Lakonia, and Messenia, but at some period subsequent to that they were expelled by the Dorians and driven into the northern district, from which they expelled the Ionian inhabitants, and which still retained their name. They were a confederacy of twelve chief cities, ten of which are on the sea coast [1, 145]. The name was also preserved in Northern Greece in the district of Achaea Phthiotis round Mt Othrys [7, 132].

### AEGINA, cc. 28, 75—6, 78—80, 85.

An island in the Saronic gulf, about eight miles due south of Salamis and about double that distance east of the coast of Argolis. At the time of the Persian invasion it was an independent state, though it had formerly been subject to the people of the opposite Dorian town of Epidaurus, from which the island had been peopled [5, 83; 8, 46]. The Aeginetans had however long ago thrown off the control of Epidaurus, and had become possessed of a powerful navy and considerable wealth. They had from very ancient times been at enmity with Athens, which is described by Herodotos [5, 82 sq.] as beginning with an attempt on the part of the latter to carry off the olive-wood images of the national heroes of Aegina, the Aeakidae (Peleus and Telamon). But a more likely account is that which represents the Aeginetans as making frequent attacks upon the Attic coast, and using their power at sea, on which they were supreme before B.C. 500, to annoy and injure Athenian commerce. The quarrel was further embittered by help given to the Boeotians against Athens a few years earlier [7, 81], and when Darius about 493—2 B.C. sent round to the Greek states for earth and water, Aegina was one of the states which complied, actuated perhaps as much by jealousy of Athens as by fear of Persia. This led to a formal complaint against them by Athens to Sparta. The Spartans took hostages for their fidelity whom they entrusted to the Athenians, and whom the Athenians before and after Marathon refused to return. The war which followed continued after B.C. 489 [vid. c. 75], to carry out which Themistokles persuaded the Athenians

to build a fleet. The threatened invasion of Xerxes however forced Athens and Aegina to make peace, and Aeginetan ships served at Salamis with the greatest distinction [8, 46, 93, 122], and as we see in this book their soldiers served at Plataea. Aegina finally became entirely subject to Athens during the administration of Pericles, who always regarded its independence as a standing menace to Athens and was wont to call it 'the eyesore of the Peiraeus' [Plut. Peric. 8]. And in B.C. 431 the Athenians expelled the Dorian inhabitants and placed Attic settlers in their lands [Thuc. 2, 27; 7, 57].

AEIMNESTOS, *vid.* ARIMN.

AETHIOPIANS, *the*, c. 32.

Aethiopia was the name given to the district south of Egypt, including the north of Abyssinia. Cambyses (B.C. 425—1) sent an expedition into this country across the Nubian desert, which perished miserably [3, 25]; but he conquered those Aethiopians who lived near Egypt, and compelled them to become tributary to Persia [3, 97]; it was some of these who seem now to be serving in the Persian army.

ALEA, *see* ATHENA.

ALEUADAE, *the*, c. 58.

A royal family reigning at Larissa in Thessaly, where they seem to have made themselves famous in Greece as patrons of learning and art; and where they remained in power until the time of Philip of Makedon. They imagined themselves to be descended from Perseus, one of the ancestors of Hercules [Pind. *Pyth.* x.], which has been suggested as one reason for their joining Persia, *cf.* the case of the Argives [7, 149]. The reigning prince was now Thorax, who had from the first warmly espoused the Persian side, had invited Xerxes to invade Greece (7, 6), had helped to cover the flight of the king after Salamis (c. 1), and was now, with his two brothers Eurypylos and Thrasideios, in the camp of Mardonius. The Aleuadae were, says H., the first Greeks to surrender themselves to the king (7, 130), at which the Thessalians generally were displeased (*ib.* 172).

ALEXANDER, *the* Macedonian, cc. 1, 8, 44—6.

Alexander, son of Amyntas I., king of Lower Makedonia, the chief cities of which were Edessa and Pella. His family claimed to be Greek as descended from an Argive named Têmenos [8, 137; Thucyd. 2, 99], whose grandson Perdikkas, according to one tradition, first established the dynasty. Alexander, though he appears as acting under Mardonius in the year B.C. 479, had thirty years before shown that he was a man of courage and address, and not likely to submit tamely to the Persian yoke. At that time (B.C. 510) the Persian general Megabazus, who had been commissioned by Darius, after his unfortunate Scythian expedition, to obtain the submission of Makedonia, sent seven ambassadors of high rank to

the court of Amyntas. They obtained the symbols of submission from the aged king and were royally entertained by him, but an insult offered by them to some ladies of the court so enraged the young Prince Alexander that he had them assassinated and all their rich equipments dispersed [5, 19—21]. Though when king he had been unable to resist submitting to Xerxes, he had still shown his interest in the Greek cause by taking the trouble to send envoys to the army despatched to guard the pass between Ossa and Olympus urging them not to attempt to hold so dangerous a position [7, 173]; and though he seems in 479 B.C. to have been on friendly terms with Mardonius and to have been really anxious that the Athenians, of whom he was a benefactor (*εὐεργέτης*) and proxenus, should accept the terms offered by the Persians, and of which he was the bearer [8, 140], yet his action before the battle of Plataea as detailed in this book [c. 45] shows on which side his wishes really lay, and that the submission he had been constrained to make was odious to him. He had great wealth derived from the product of silver mines [5, 17], and he appears to have shown his joy at the Greek victory by presenting a gold statue to the god at Delphi [8, 121]. He was succeeded by his son Perdiccas II. some time before 432 B.C. [Thucyd. 1, 57] and after B.C. 463 [Plut. *Cim.* 14]. His Argive descent was admitted by the managers of the Olympic games, who allowed him to enter for the foot-race [5, 22].

AMAZONS, the, c. 27.

A mythical nation of female warriors living on the banks of the Themōdon, a river in Pontus. One legend makes Hercules attack them; another Theseus. In revenge for the latter attack, they were said to have invaded Attica, where they remained four months, and were at length conquered by Theseus. The battle of the Amazons was represented on the metopes of the Parthenon, and on the south wall of the Acropolis; was painted in the Stoa Poecile and in the Theseium; as well as carved in relief on the pedestal of Zeus at Olympia and on the shield of Athenē by Phidias; in fact no subject was a more favourite one with Greek artists [Paus. 1, 17].

AMBRAKIAN, the, c. 28, 31.

Ambrakia was a town and district on the river Arachthus, seven miles from the shore of the Ambrakian gulf. It was a colony from Korinth [Thucyd. 2, 80], and though it only contributed the moderate contingent of 500 men to the Greek army of defence, it played an important part afterwards in the Peloponnesian war on the side of the Peloponnesians; and in the time of Pyrrhos (circ. B.C. 290) it was the capital of Epiros.

AMOMPHARĒTOS, cc. 53—7, 71, 85.

The commander of a Spartan *lochos* or company, a fourth part of a *mora*, the numbers of which varied from 400 to 600. The



*lochos* therefore would vary from 100 to 150 [Thuc. 5, 68]. If the reading is right in c. 85 he was an *εἰρην*, that is, according to Plutarch [*Lyc.* 17], a citizen between the ages of 20 and 60, during which years a Spartan was capable of holding military command. Amompharetos commanded the *lochos* of Pitana, a hamlet of Sparta, for which see *Pitanaetan lochos*. Beyond this tale of him, repeated by Plutarch [*Arist.* 17], we know nothing more.

#### AMYNTAS, c. 44.

King of Makedonia, son of Alketas and father of Alexander (q. v.). He was an aged man in B.C. 510, and much terrified by the ambition and aggressiveness of Darius, to whose envoys he gave the required symbols of submission. When his son Alexander planned his bloody revenge against these envoys the old king was first induced to retire, in spite of his alarm at his son's evident anger and dangerous temper [5, 17—20]. He was on terms of friendship with the Peisistratids and offered Hippias the town of Anthemos when he was expelled from Athens [5, 94]. Besides his son Alexander, he had a daughter Gygaea married to a Persian named Bubares [8, 136].

#### ANAKTORIUM, cc. 28, 31.

A town in Akarnania on the S. coast of the mouth of the Ambrakian gulf. It was a joint colony of Korinth and Korkyra [Thucyd. 1, 55]. It was taken by the Korinthians in 432 B.C. and filled with Korinthian settlers, who however were driven out by the Athenians in B.C. 425, and the old inhabitants were restored [Thucyd. 1, 55; 4, 49]. Finally its inhabitants were removed by Augustus to the new town of Nikopolis, built in honour of his victory of Aktium, B.C. 31 [Paus. 5, 23, 2]. Its ruins are believed to be those at *Aios Petros*, two miles west of the modern town of *Venitza*.

#### ANAXANDRIDAS, cc. 10, 64.

Son of Leon, king of Sparta of the elder house. He died shortly before B.C. 502. Herodotos [5, 39—41] tells us that his first wife, who was also his niece, had no children; and that therefore the Ephors urged him to put her away and marry another. He refused to do so from love to his wife. The Ephors accordingly, as a compromise, suggested that without divorcing his first wife he should take another. He accordingly—a thing hitherto unheard of at Sparta—married a second wife, a daughter of Prinetas, and had by her a son Kleomenes. Soon afterwards his first wife to the surprise of all became the mother of three sons in quick succession, Dorieus, Leonidas, Kleombrotos. Kleomenes succeeded his father and died leaving only a daughter, Gorgo, about 495 B.C. Dorieus had meanwhile after an adventurous life died in Sicily [7, 205], and Leonidas succeeded. Kleombrotos was the father of Pausanias (q. v.).

## ANDROKRATES, c. 25.

One of the national heroes (or deified ancestors) of the Plataeans, whose chapel or Heroum was on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes [Thuc. 3, 24, 1]. He does not appear to be mentioned by any other ancient author except Plutarch, who (*Arist.* 11) numbers him among the ἀρχηγέται of Plataea.

## ANDROS, c. 53.

The most northern and, next to Naxos, the largest of the Cyclades, being 21 m. long by 8 m. broad. It was fertile and rich in vines; but its inhabitants pleaded poverty when Themistocles demanded a contribution in B.C. 480 after the battle of Salamis [8, 111]. 'The Athenians', said Themistokles, 'have brought two strong gods, Persuasion and Necessity'. 'But we', answered the Andrians, 'have two unprofitable gods who never quit our island, Poverty and Helplessness'.

## ANTAGORAS, c. 76.

A native of the island of Cos, and apparently in a good position, as his son Hegetoridas was a close friend of Pausanias.

## ANTIOCHOS, c. 33.

A native of Elis, a member of the mantic or augural family called Klytiadae, and father of Tisamenos. See *Klytiadae* and *Tisamenos*.

## APHIDNA, c. 73.

A fortified town in Attica some few miles beyond Dekelea on the road from Athens to Oropus. It was a very ancient town, one of the original twelve which Theseus was believed to have united into one Athenian State. It was celebrated in mythology as the place in which Theseus concealed Helen, when he carried her off as a child of seven years old; and accordingly her brothers Castor and Pollux took the town when they invaded Attica in search of her. Aphidna also was the birthplace of the poet Tyrtaios and of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Its exact site seems uncertain, but it has been supposed that some remains of fortifications on a hill now called Kotroni mark its situation.

## ARKADIA, cc. 27, 28.

The central district of the Peloponnese. Its natural strength, being walled in on every side by considerable mountain ranges, preserved it from invasion, and its inhabitants therefore were Pelasgians not displaced by the Dorians who overran and settled most of the rest of the Peloponnese. This fact is to be remembered in studying Peloponnesian politics. Its mountainous scenery, and the antiquity of its inhabitants caused it to be regarded as the natural home of primitive simplicity and pastoral life. It consisted of a number of independent townships, the most notable of which were

Tegea and Mantinea, the only Arkadian towns mentioned as furnishing troops at Plataea [vid. cc. 27—8].

ARGIOPIOS, c. 57.

A mountain village or enclosure (*χωρος*) in which a temple of Demeter stood, on the slopes of Kithaeron, near which the actual battle of Plataea took place. It may have been connected with the nymph Argiope, mother of Thamyris [Apollod. 1, 3, 3].

ARGIVES, the, cc. 12, 27, 34, 35.

The inhabitants of Argos, the chief town of Argolis, the north-eastern province of the Peloponnese. Their dispute with Sparta for possession of the narrow district along the coast immediately south of Argos, called Kynuria, had kept them in constant hostility with the Spartans. And their sufferings from the invasion of the Spartan king Kleomenes in B.C. 495—3, and the consequent rebellion of their own slaves [6, 78—83], had not only crippled them, but made them more than indifferent,—positively hostile to the cause of the Greeks against the Persians; they are said to have even sent to Persia inviting the invasion [7, 150—2], and certainly took no part in resisting it. As stated in c. 12, they showed their friendship by warning Mardonius of the approach of the army of the Peloponnese. This alliance with Persia was maintained for many years afterwards [vid. Her. 7, 151; Thucyd. 2, 67]. The policy of Argos was not shared in by all the other cities of Argolis, for we find Tiryns and Mykenae (q. v.) supplying a contingent to the Greek army at Plataea.

ARIMNESTOS (or Acimnestos).

Two men of this name are mentioned.

(1) c. 64. A Spartan from whose hand the stone came which killed Mardonius, and who afterwards distinguished himself in the war with the Helots [B.C. 464—455].

(2) c. 72. The leader of the Plataeans at the battle of Plataea as he had been at Marathon; and of whom accordingly there was a statue at Plataea in a temple to Athene Aria built from the spoils of Marathon [Paus. 9, 4]. Plutarch [*Aristid.* 11] says that it was Arimnestos who, being instructed in a dream as to the real meaning of an oracle which promised victory to the Athenians 'on the plain of Eleusinian Demeter', pointed out the temple of Demeter at the foot of Kithaeron, where the battle actually took place, and prevented the Greeks from retiring into Attica. His good services in the war seem to have established a connexion of friendship with Sparta, as we find his son a proxenus of Sparta, and chosen to plead the cause of the Plataean prisoners before the Spartan commissioners after the siege in B.C. 427 [Thucyd. 3, 52].

ARISTEIDES, c. 28.

Aristeides, son of Lysimachos, of the deme Alopekae, commanded



the Athenian contingent at Plataea. He had already served the state for some years with great distinction. In his youth he had been a friend of the reformer Kleisthenes, and when in after years he came to hold various offices in the state he so distinguished himself for his strict integrity, that he received by general consent the title of the Just. He was one of the ten Strategi at Marathon, and, after the battle, was left with the men of his tribe to guard the captives and collect the spoil, while the rest of the army hurried back to Athens to confront the Persians who had sailed thither round Sunium. His great rival, Themistokles, who had also been one of the Strategi at Marathon, rose to great power and influence during the ten years from B.C. 490 to B.C. 480, owing principally to his energetic measures in inducing the Athenians to equip a powerful fleet for the prosecution of the Aeginetan war, which ships, as Herodotos says, 'saved Hellas' by crushing the invasion of Xerxes at Salamis. The political rivalry between the two statesmen had been stopped in the way peculiar to Athens by a vote of ostracism, in which the majority voted against Aristides [B.C. 483]; but when the invasion of Xerxes was actually approaching, the Athenians recalled Aristides,—the banishment consequent on ostracism being for ten years,—and he joined the fleet at Salamis, just in time to assist Themistokles in inducing the Greek commanders to stay in the bay of Salamis and give the Persians battle there. After Salamis, though the reputation of Themistokles was enormous, the confidence of the people seems to have rested most upon Aristides. He was elected sole commander (*στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*) of the 8000 hoplites sent to join the Greek army against Mardonius; and in the period which followed he was almost continually in command in the Aegean. It was his high character which induced the allies, irritated by the folly and arrogance of Pausanias, to transfer the command of the allied fleet to Athens; and it was he who organized the Confederacy of Delos [B.C. 477—6], and arranged the assessment of the *phoros* on a footing of equity always looked back upon by the allies themselves with satisfaction. As a statesman he had been connected with the more aristocratic party in opposition to Themistokles. But after 489 B.C. their positions seem to have been reversed to some extent. It was Aristides who carried a measure throwing open to all citizens the archonship formerly confided to the *pentacosiomedimni*, the richest class of citizens according to the assessment of Solon; while his frequent absence from Athens in command of the fleet separated him from the reactionary party at home, and kept him in sympathy with the class of citizens engaged in foreign service, who were observed to be more distinctly democratic than those who remained at home. The year of his death is variously stated as B.C. 469—8; and the place according to some was Pontus, according to others, Athens. But all agree that he retained the affection and respect of his fellow-citizens to the last, and that he showed by the smallness of the means which he left behind him, that he had made no personal gains in the public service. His tomb was long shown at Phalerum, and his daughters were

portioned at the public cost, while his son Lysimachos had a grant of land and a pension.

Life by Plutarch.

ARISTODEMOS, c. 71.

One of the three Spartans who were said to have survived the slaughter of Leonidas and his three hundred at Thermopylae. Two different accounts were given of this. One, that being along with Eurytos invalided with ophthalmia, he was lying at Alpeni, a little lower down the pass; that Eurytos hearing of the battle forced his helot to lead him to the thick of the fray and perished, while Aristodemus staid behind 'faint of heart': another, that he was absent on a message and loitered purposely on the road. The third survivor, Paulites, who had also been on a message, hanged himself at Sparta when he found himself regarded as disgraced. Aristodemus lived, but in such odium, that no one would give him a light to kindle his fire, or address a word to him; and although at Plataea he endeavoured to wipe out his disgrace by a display of reckless courage, the uncompromising Spartans refused to recognize such contempt of a miserable life as true courage [7, 229—231].

ARTABAZUS, cc. 41—2, 58, 66, 77, 89.

Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, commanded the Parthians and Chorasmians [Her. 7, 6], and was held in high estimation among the Persians. He escorted king Xerxes back to the Hellespont after Salamis at the head of 60,000 picked troops, and spent the winter of 489—8 in trying to reduce the towns of Potidaea and Olynthos. He killed all the inhabitants of the latter city and handed it over to certain Chalkidian settlers in the neighbourhood. But he was not so successful with Potidaea. The citizens of this town offered a stout resistance for three months, and finally he lost a large number of his men in trying to enter the town at an ebb tide round the breakwater, or mole, which protected the harbour [xηλή Thucyd. 1, 63]. Artabazus then raised the siege, retired to join Mardonius in Macedonia, and marched with him southward in the spring. His force however was now reduced to 40,000 men, with which he escaped after Plataea, and with part of which at any rate he arrived safely in Asia; where he still retained the confidence of the king, who sent him in B.C. 478—7 as Satrap to Sardis in place of Megabates when Pausanias offered to negotiate with the Persian monarch [Thucyd. 1, 129]. From that time we hear no more of him.

ARTONTES, c. 84.

A son of Mardonius.

ASOPODOROS, c. 69.

A Theban cavalry commander, son of Timander, of whom nothing certain is known beyond what is stated in the text. A man of his name is mentioned in Pindar, *Isth.* 1, 34, as the father of one Herodotos, a victor in a four-horse chariot. It is inferred by some



from the words of Pindar that Asopodoros had been at one time banished, which would have been after this war.

ASOPIANS, the, c. 15.

The inhabitants of the valley of the Asopos lying between the mountain chains of Kithaeron and Parnes and the river, thus being immediately over the Attic frontier.

ASOPOS, cc. 31, 36, 38, 40, 43, 49, 51.

A river rising in Mt Kithaeron, and flowing eastward into the Euboean Sea. Its valley, which is about forty miles long, is divided by hills (Teumessos) into three plains, (1) Parasopia, in the N. and S. extremities of which stood Thebes and Plataea, (2) the plain of Tanagra, (3) the plain of Oropos at its mouth. In this last part of its course it forms the natural boundary between Attica and Boeotia. It was in Parasopia that this campaign took place. It was generally a sluggish stream [*Ἀσωπὸν δ' ἵκοντο βαθύσχοινον, λεχεπολήν*, 'Asopos with deep beds of rushes and meadows wide,' Il. 4, 383], and where the road from Thebes to Plataea crossed it it was usually fordable, and in the summer shrunk to a mere brook [Thucyd. 2, 5, 2], but was apt to become difficult or impossible after heavy rains. [There were at least three other rivers in Greece called by the same name, (1) at Sicyon in the N. Peloponnese, (2) at Heraclea Trachinia in Malis, (3) in the island of Paros.]

ATHENE ALEA, c. 70.

Athene, the Protectress [*Ἀλέη*, Il. 22, 30, cp. *Ἀλεύω*]. Under this title Athene was worshipped in Arkadia, where she had temples at Mantinea, Manthytrea, Alea, and Tegea. The last was the most famous and splendid, and being destroyed by fire in B.C. 395 was restored by Scopas of Ephesos, the architect of the Mausoleum. The old statue was preserved and eventually taken to Rome by Augustus as the Arkadians had sided with Antony [1, 66; Pausan. 8, 45].

ATHENS, cc. 3, 4, 8, 13. ATHENIANS, the, cc. 4, 6, 7, 8, 21, 23, 28, 39, 45—6, 54—8.

During the summer of B.C. 480 Athens was in the hands of the Persians, and though the inhabitants had partially returned after the battle of Salamis (September), they quitted the town again in the spring of 479 B.C. at the approach of Mardonius, and were for the most part housed in the island of Salamis, while Athens itself was for a time again occupied by Mardonius. The Athenians were all along the life and soul of the resistance to Persia. They, with the help of 1000 Plataeans only, had conquered at Marathon in B.C. 490; they had organized the confederacy of the southern states formed in B.C. 485—480 to repel Xerxes; at Artemisium and at Salamis their ships numbered nearly as many as those of all the other allies together; and though at Plataea it was the Spartans and Tegeans who alone were engaged with the Persians, the Athe-



nians were meanwhile employed in what was probably a more serious encounter with the Boeotians, and in the consequent attack upon the Persian fortified camp the Spartans could not succeed without their help. It was her patriotism and valour in this war which among other causes led to the subsequent supremacy of Athens in Hellas. Until after the Persian wars Athens was practically an open town; the Acropolis had been fortified by a wall constructed by Pelasgian builders, but any other defences it may have possessed must have been of the very slightest. After the Persian wars the Acropolis was devoted to sacred buildings, while the town itself was defended by a ring wall of about 7 miles in circumference.

#### ATTICA, cc. 6, 12, 13, 27, 73.

Our book describes the second invasion of Attica in this Persian war. Thucydides (I, 2) observes that Attica, partly because it lay out of the road from the north to southern Greece, and partly because its soil was not very fruitful, had in former times seldom been invaded, and therefore had not undergone those frequent changes of inhabitants which had befallen the rest of Greece. The people therefore regarded themselves as autochthonous, or native to the soil, and their city as the *μητρόπολις* of the Ionians. It is a peninsula of which the greatest length is 50 miles and breadth 30 miles. Its whole contents 700 square miles. Its geological formation is primitive limestone; and it is so mountainous that only half its square contents is available for cultivation. The hills are generally bare and rugged, giving a meagre sustenance to sheep and goats, and but scantily sprinkled with pines, dwarf-oaks, lentisk, arbutus and bay trees. The plains in the country, and there is none of importance except that of Athens itself, have but a light soil thinly covering the rock, not generally fitted for corn growing, and not fruitful in anything except olives and vines. It is badly supplied with water; its streams are mountain torrents nearly dry in the summer, and there is no lake or natural reservoir. [Wordsworth, *Athens and Attica*, cp. Xenophon, *de Vect.* I, 5. Plutarch, *Solon* 22]. The name has been generally derived from *ἀκτὴ*, 'headland' or 'coastland', but Curtius suggests that it is rather *ἀστική* from *ἄστυ*.

#### ATTAGINOS, cc. 15, 86—8.

A rich Theban, son of Phrynon, one of the two chief leaders of the Medizing party at Thebes, whose surrender was especially demanded by the Greek army after Plataea. He however managed to effect his escape, and his children falling into the hands of Pausanias were spared.

#### AUTODICOS, c. 85.

A man of Plataea, father of Kleades.

#### BAKIS, c. 43.

Nothing is known of this personage beyond the fact that a number of oracles were extant attributed to him, which were con-

sulted somewhat like the Sibylline books at Rome. Herodotos quotes them in 8, 20, 77 and 96, and professes to be profoundly impressed by the clearness with which the troubles of the Persian invasion are foretold by him. Aristophanes parodied the style of these prophecies in the *Equites* and elsewhere [see *Eq.* 123 sq., *Av.* 899, *Pax* 1009], which does not at all prove that he was wholly incredulous in respect to them. We are told that there were three prophets of this name (which means 'the Speaker', cp. *βᾶξεν*), one of Boeotia, who is the one quoted by Herodotos, another of Attica, and a third of Kaphya in Arkadia.

#### BAKTRIANS, the, c. 31.

An Aryan people inhabiting a country still called Balk (Baklidi), a mountainous district bounded on the north by the river Oxus, but with fertile valleys varied by steppes and sandy tracts. They were included in the twelfth Satrapy by Darius [3, 92] and served in the army of Xerxes under the command of Sisamnes [7, 66].

#### BIAS, c. 34.

A man of Pylos in Elis, brother of the seer Melampus, and son of Amythaon. For the service rendered by Melampus to the Argives he obtained for himself and his brother Bias a share in the royal power. Argos thus, according to the legend, had three kings at once, Anaxagoras, Melampus, and Bias, an arrangement which lasted for several generations [Pausan. 2, 6, 6; 4, 34, 4].

#### BOEOTARCHAE, the, c. 15.

The members of the council of the Boeotian league, which met at Koronea at the annual national festival, the Panboeotia. The Boeotarchs, whose numbers apparently varied according to those of the free towns which at different periods made up the league, met also at other times, and with the advice of four senates (of the constitution of which we know nothing, see Thucyd. 5, 37—8) decided on matters of national importance, such as that of peace or war. These commissioners also at times served actively in the field when there was a question affecting the interests of the league, as for instance when Plataea in B.C. 431 was to be punished for deserting the league and joining Athens [Thucyd. 2, 2, 1], and at the battle of Delium, where all the Boeotian towns were represented, and where their numbers are said to have been eleven [Thucyd. 4, 91]. See also Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, part II. ch. 2; and Hermann's *Political Antiquities*, §§ 179—180; and Boeckh in *C. I. G.* vol. I. p. 726 sq.

#### BOEOTIA, cc. 6, 7, 17, 24.

Boeotia, in which most of the events recorded in this book took place, was the district immediately to the north of Attica, bounded on the south-west by that part of the Korinthian Gulf called the *mare Alcyonium*, on the north and north-east by the territory of the Opuntian Locrians and the Euripos, and on the west by Phokis. Between it and Attica lay the mountain range of Kithaeron and Parnes,



which was crossed by two passes, one called Dryoskephalae (q.v.), leading from Eleusis by Eleutherae, and Hysiae to Plataea, and another from Athens by Phylè (on Mt Parnes) into the valley of the Asopos and direct to Thebes. Extending from sea to sea it barred the way into Attica and the Peloponnese, and being also suited by its plains for military evolutions was often the scene of campaigns. It is divided geographically into two districts, the northern one containing two wide plains, those of Orchomenos and Thebes, but completely surrounded by mountains; the other, or southern Boeotia, containing the long and sometimes wide valley of the Asopos. It was this latter district which Mardonius chose for his fighting ground, both because the valley was suitable for cavalry, and because the city of Thebes offered him safe and convenient quarters. Politically Boeotia was a somewhat loose confederacy of free towns, which varied in number at different times. Nine towns are known as belonging to the confederacy, viz. Thebes, Orchomenos, Lebadea, Koronea, Kopae, Halikartus, Thespieae, Tanagra, Anthedon. Of these Orchomenos in Homeric times seems to have been far the most important, but for a long while before the Persian war Thebes had been the leading state. These states were free, according to the Hellenic custom, but for certain purposes they were under the control of deputies (see *Boeotarchs*) elected by each state, who were again controlled by consultative senates.

BOEOTIANS, the, cc. 2, 31, 39, 46—7, 67—8.

The Boeotians were a mixed race. Aeolian Hellenes had emigrated from Thessaly and settled there, partly absorbing the earlier Pelasgic inhabitants; and in Thebes there had also been a Phoenikian colony called Kadmeians, whose name still survived in the citadel of Thebes, the Kadmeia. Not only therefore were they divided in race from the people of Attica and the Peloponnese, but against the former they were embittered by the feuds which always sprung up between conterminous Greek states, the especial object of contest in their case being generally the possession of Oropos, which commanded the eastern and easiest road from Attica to the north, as well as Oenoe and Hysiae commanding the pass of Dryoskephalae. They and the Chalkidians of Euboea had in B.C. 506 joined Kleomenes of Sparta in ravaging Attica in the interest of the expelled Hippias [5, 74], and had subsequently helped to protect the Chalkidians against the consequent Athenian vengeance [ib. 77]; and this enmity to Athens in a great measure accounted for the eagerness with which they as a nation medized. Yet there seems to have been a considerable party of loyalists even at Thebes; and at Thermopylae there were 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans serving in the army of Leonidas [7, 202]. Observe that Herodotos means by 'Boeotians' not the inhabitants of any one town, but generally either the army or commissioners acting under the authority of the central committee of Boeotarchs. At a later period of history Thebes attempted to arrogate to herself the entire authority of Boeotia, and to describe



her citizens not as Thebans but as Boeotians [see Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions*, p. 123].

#### BYZANTIUM, c. 89.

A colony of Megara on the site of the modern Constantinople, founded in B.C. 657 [4, 144]. It was reduced to submission by the Ionian confederates in B.C. 503 [5, 103], and shared in their reduction to Persian dependence when the Ionian revolt was put down. It was therefore now in Persian hands, and remained so until it was besieged and taken by Pausanias in 478 B.C. [Thucyd. 1, 94]. On the formation of the confederacy of Delos it was among the subject allies, and especially valuable to Athens as commanding the passage of the corn ships from the Pontus. It revolted during the Samian war B.C. 440, but submitted on the fall of Samos [id. 1, 115-7]. In B.C. 410 it was closed to the Athenians by a fleet of Peloponnesian ships [Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 36], and received a Spartan garrison and Harmost; but it was in the second year from that again restored to Athens by Alkibiades after his brilliant victory of Kyzikus, being betrayed to him after a long and painful siege [ib. 1, 3, 14-20]. Again in B.C. 405 it was surrendered to the Spartans under Lysander [ib. 2, 21]; and after suffering from Philip of Macedon, the Gauls, and the Emperor Severus, it was finally refounded as New Rome by Constantine in A.D. 330, and remained an imperial city until its capture by the Turks in A.D. 1453.

#### CHALKIDIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Chalkis in Euboea. Chalkis (mod. *Egripo*) on the Euripos, where the channel is divided by a rock which now forms a central pier for the bridge uniting Euboea with the continent, was a flourishing commercial town which had sent colonies in very ancient times to Sicily and Italy and the north of Greece. The oldest Hellenic colony in Italy was from Chalkis, viz. Kumaë, and the Chalkidian colonies in Sicily, Naxos and Zancle (Messina), had in their turn been the source of four other flourishing Sicilian towns. It was early a rival and opponent of Athens, and in B.C. 506, after taking part in the confederacy formed by Kleomenes against Athens, the Athenians conquered it and divided part of its territory among 4000 lot-holders or Kleruchs [v. 77].

#### CHILEOS, c. 9.

A man of Tegea, who appears to have resided at Sparta and to have had great influence there.

#### DATUM, or DATOS, c. 75.

A town in Thrace on the eastern arm of the Strymonic gulf, opposite the island of Thasos. It was situated in a rich agricultural district which contained productive gold-mines also; and was possessed of a good harbour and dockyards. It was so wealthy that *Δάτον ἀγαθῶν* became a proverb for prosperity. See *Seagros*.

## DEKELEA, cc. 15, 73.

A strongly situated village and deme, 12 miles to the N.E. of Athens, commanding the eastern pass over Parnes, as Phyle commanded the western. It was therefore of great importance to Athens as controlling the road from Oropos, by which much of the imports from the north were brought to avoid the risky voyage round Sunium. The site is occupied by the modern village of Tatoï, and from it a view of Athens and the harbour of the Peiræus is commanded; for when in 411—10 Agis, king of Sparta, occupied it he could see the corn ships sailing into the harbour [Xen. *Hell.* 1, 1, 35]. It was one of the 12 original cantons believed to have been united under one government by Theseus.

## DEKELUS, c. 73.

The mythical founder of Dekelea.

## DELPHI, cc. 33, 42, 81.

Delphi, the seat of the famous oracle of Apollo, was in a religious sense the centre of Greece. To it men from all parts of Greece, and indeed of the known world, came to consult the Oracle on every imaginable difficulty, great or small. The answers of the Pythian priestess were regarded with the greatest respect, and often decided the policy of a state, and the question of peace or war. The care of the temple was the joint business of the Phokian league, and the claim of the Delphians to the exclusive custody of it, supported as they were in that claim by Sparta, led to a war in which the Athenians finally restored the privilege to the Phokian league [Thucyd. 1, 112]. This was about B.C. 449, but there had more than a hundred years before (B.C. 595—585) been a more serious 'Sacred War' brought on by the greed of the people of Kirrha, the port of Delphi, in levying heavy exactions on visitors to the shrine, and which ended in the destruction of Kirrha [Plut. *Sol.* xi.]. So important did the Greeks consider free access to this sacred place. Its freedom and inviolability was the special business of the Amphictyonic League, which met there and at Thermopylae alternately. The splendid temple standing at the time of the Persian invasion was a comparatively recent erection; the more ancient building was burnt in B.C. 548, and the new one was built by the Alkmaeonidae, who went beyond their contract in facing the entire exterior with Parian marble. After the victory of Thermopylae one of the columns of the Persian army advanced upon Delphi. The inhabitants sent their wives and children over to Achaia, while the men took refuge on the heights of Parnassos or in the Korykian cave; and according to the story in Herodotos [8, 36—7] the god himself preserved his temple by various prodigies. The Persian army was terror stricken by a storm of thunder and lightning, and by huge masses of rock which rolled down upon them from the mountain. The town of Delphi stood in a kind of natural amphitheatre to the S. of the sloping foot of a precipitous two-headed

cliff which terminates the range of Parnassos. The valley is watered by the river Pleistos flowing to the S.W. into the Krissaeon gulf. The name of the town in the Homeric poem is Pytho (Πυθώ), hence the 'Pythian games', and the 'Pythia', i.e. the priestess who delivered the oracles.

DEMETER, cc. 57, 65, 69.

The most venerable of the goddesses in the Greek mythology. She was the daughter of Kronos and represented mystically the secret powers and operations of nature. She had temples—always of a peculiarly sacred and inviolable character—in many places in Greece; but the chief seat of her worship and the most frequented of the mysteries celebrated in her honour were at Eleusis, the spot where according to the legend she first tasted food in her sorrowful search for her daughter Persephone. Her temples were usually built in some solitary place at some distance from a town [templum vetustum *desertae* Cereris, Verg. *Aen.* 2, 714]. Thus the scene of the battle of Plataea is near her sacred enclosure, about a mile from Plataea itself, and the battle of Mykale fought on the same day was near a temple of Demeter also, on a lonely part of the promontory of Mykale [Her. 9, 97, 101].

DIONYSOPHANES, c. 84.

A man of Ephesos, who buried, or claimed to have buried, the body of Mardonius after the battle of Plataea. The tomb believed to be that of Mardonius was seen by the traveller Pausanias (2nd cent. A.D.), but the actual person who buried Mardonius seems to have been uncertain, and his son Artontes rewarded other Ionians besides Dionysophanes [Paus. 9, 2, 2].

DIPAEA, c. 35.

A town in the district of Maenalia in Arkadia; it was one of the 40 townships which in 370 B.C. were deserted to supply inhabitants for Megalopolis, the new capital of the Arkadian confederation [Paus. 8, 27, 3; 3, 11, 7].

DORIEUS, c. 10.

The father of Euryanax, the joint commander of the Peloponnesian army with Pausanias, and a member of the Royal family. Leonidas had an elder brother of this name [see ANAXANDRIDAS and PAUSANIAS], whose son, if legitimate, would have succeeded to the Throne at Sparta at the death of Kleomenes before his uncle Leonidas. We must therefore suppose either that Euryanax was not legitimate, or that this Dorieus is some other most distant relative of the same family, which the expression 'of the same family' seems to favour. Stein supposes that Dorieus son of Anaxandridas was meant, and that he had forfeited the right of succession for his son by his residence abroad, or had surrendered it [5, 46.]



**DRYOSKEPHALAE, c. 39.**

'The Oak-heads', a pass also called the 'Three Heads' over Mt Kithaeron, from Attica to Boeotia. Through it went two roads, one from Eleusis to Plataea, passing by Ōenoe and Eleutherae; another, to the west of this, from Megara by Aegosthenae (where it joined the road from Korinth) to Plataea and Thebes.

**ECHEMOS, c. 26.**

A king of Tegea who according to the legend stood forth as champion of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese against Hyllus, the leader of the Dorian invaders, and killed him. In other versions of the legend he is called son of Aëropos and grandson of Cepheus [Paus. 8, 5, 1].

**EDONIANS, the, c. 75.**

A Thracian tribe inhabiting a district of Makedonia between the rivers Strymon and Nestos, into which they had been driven from the more westerly province of Mygdonia [Thucyd. 2, 99, 3].

**EERŌPOS or AĒRŌPOS, c. 26.**

Father of Echemos (q. v.). According to the legends of Tegea he was the son of Aërōpe, daughter of Cepheus and the god Ares [Paus. 8, 44, 6].

**EGYPTIANS, the, c. 32.**

The Egyptians, whose civil, religious, and military organisation was the most ancient of any known to the Greeks, and from whom many of the institutions of Greece were traced, had been conquered by the Persians under Cambyses B.C. 525 [Her. 3, 10 sq.]; had rebelled against the Persians in the reign of Darius B.C. 486 [id. 7, 1—19], and had thus prevented him from renewing his attack upon Greece; being again subdued by Xerxes they, like the rest of the subject states, furnished a contingent to the Grand Army [id. 7, 25, 89], and their 200 ships did conspicuous service at Artemisium [id. 7, 17].

**ELEANS, the, c. 77.**

The inhabitants of Elis, the north-western province of the Peloponnesos. The Eleans are chiefly prominent in Greek history from the fact of their having the management of the Olympic games, held within their borders in the valley of the Alpheus. As they are not mentioned in ch. 28 among the nations forming part of the Great Army as drawn up near the fountain Gargaphia, it seems probable that they had been prevented from descending from Kithaeron into the valley of the Asopos by the Persian cavalry [see chs. 38—40], and that they were not among those who retreated contrary to orders to the Heraeum (ch. 52). Accordingly their name was found inscribed on the pedestal of Zeus at Olympia. Pausan. 5, 23, 2.

## ELEUSIS, cc. 19, 27, 57.

Eleusis, situated on a bay called by the same name, was about 11 miles from Athens, from which it was approached by the Sacred Way. It is opposite Salamis and at the mouth of the western branch of the Kephissos. It is moreover on the road leading from the Peloponnese by Megara into Attica, and was accordingly a natural rendezvous for the Peloponnesian troops and the Athenians who crossed to it from their retreat in Salamis. It is moreover the natural starting place for the pass of Dryoskephalæe into Boeotia. It was famous throughout Greece, and a place of especial sanctity in the eyes of the Athenians, from the celebration of the mysteries in its great temple of Demeter (q. v.), to which the citizens of Athens yearly went in solemn procession.

## ENCHELEANS, the, c. 43.

A people of Illyria, north of Epidamnos, who, according to the legend, invited Kadmos to lead them in battle against the other Illyrians. Kadmos conquered, and became king of Illyria; and afterwards led them against Delphi and plundered the temple, but was overwhelmed with disasters on his return.

## EPHESOS, c. 84.

On the coast of Lydia at the mouth of the river Cayster. It was the most important of the twelve Ionian cities who joined in the yearly festival at the Panionium, a place and temple on the promontory of Mykale. The feast was called the Panionia, and the temple was dedicated to Poseidon [1, 142, 148]. This feast was afterwards transferred to Ephesos and called the Ephesia [Thucyd. 3, 104, 6]. Ephesos at the time of the battle of Plataea was, like the rest of Ionia, under the power of Persia.

## EPHORS, the, c. 76.

Five magistrates at Sparta, instituted according to Herodotos (1, 65) and Xenophon (*Rep. Lac.* 8 § 3) by Lycurgus, were originally intended, as their name imports, to watch over (*ἐφορᾶν*) the laws and see that they were observed by the Kings and people alike. Every month the Kings swore to govern according to the laws, and the Ephors to support the royal authority as long as they did so. Gradually these five magistrates (who, according to Müller's theory, were originally mere inspectors of the market) got all political power into their hands, could summon the Kings before their Court, censure and fine them, and in fact were the real governors of the State. They were elected annually by the whole body of full citizens.

## EPIDAUURIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Epidaurus, a town on the coast of Argolis opposite the island of Aegina, which it had originally colonised [8. 46] and retained more closely under its power than was usually the case with colonies [id. 5, 83]. Epidaurus, the inhabitants

of which were Dorians, was noted for its temple and worship of Aesculapius, and for the celebration of certain orgies or mysteries of which Herodotos says 'it is not lawful to speak.' It sent 8 ships to Artemisium (id. 8, 1).

ERETRIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Eretria in Euboea. They had assisted Miletos in the Ionic revolt [B.C. 501] with 5 triremes in return for assistance received from Miletos in some quarrel with Chalkis [5, 99]: for this they were made a special object of attack by Dares and Artaphernes in B.C. 449, who took the town and carried off all the inhabitants they could catch to Susa, where they were received kindly by Darius and settled in a district called Ardericca, about 35 miles from Susa; and there they remained for some generations. But though the town was thus depopulated, a considerable number of the inhabitants escaped falling into the hands of the Persians by taking refuge in the mountains in the centre of Euboea [6, 100—120]. These people must have returned after the defeat of the Persians at Marathon and restored the prosperity of their town. For besides supplying 600 hoplites at Plataea, they had sent seven triremes to Artemisium and Salamis [8, 46].

ERYTHRAE, cc. 15, 19, 25.

A village lying on the lower slopes of Mt Kithaeron and on the southern or right bank of the Asopos. It is generally mentioned in connexion with Hysiae [Eur. *Bacch.* 751], but c. 25 shews that it was to the east of Hysiae and on somewhat higher ground. It was some distance to the right of the direct road from Eleusis to Plataea (by the pass of Dryoskephalae) by which the Greeks had come, but they apparently diverged from that route in order to keep on the high ground. It was in a very fertile district, and especially noted for its bread,—good reasons for making it head quarters.

EURYANAX, cc. 10, 53, 55.

A son of Dorieus (q. v.) and connexion of Pausanias, with whom he had the joint command of the Peloponnesian army.

EURYBATES, c. 75.

A famous athlete of Argos, who won the Pentathlum at the Nemean games, and who volunteered to serve in the defence of Aegina when attacked by the Athenians in B.C. 491. In the course of the campaign he challenged several of the enemy to single combat, and after killing them, was finally killed by Sophanes [6, 92].

EURYPYLUS, c. 58.

A prince of Larissa, brother of Thorax (q. v.).

EURYSTHEUS, cc. 26, 27.

King of Tiryns, son of Sthenelos, and grandson of Perseus, whom Hercules in accordance with the order of the Oracle served for twelve years.



## EUTYCHIDES, c. 73.

A man of the deme Dekelea, father of Sophanes (q. v.).

## GARGAPHIA, cc. 25, 49, 52.

A fountain on the right of the road from Plataea to Thebes, about a mile to the east of Plataea, near which was the *Second* position of the Greek army at Plataea. According to Pausanias, the traveller, after its destruction by the Persians, it was subsequently restored by the Plataeans [Paus. 9, 4, 3].

## GLAUCON, c. 75.

An Athenian, father of Leagros. This Leagros also had a son called Glaucon, whom we hear of as in command of an Athenian squadron about B.C. 433 [Thucyd. 1, 51, 4].

## GLISAS, c. 43.

An ancient town of Boeotia, of which the exact site is now uncertain. It is mentioned in the catalogue of those Boeotian towns which contributed together 50 ships against Troy (Il. 2, 504), and Pausanias describes, what were even in his time its ruins, as about seven furlongs from Teumesus, on the left of the road from Thebes to Chalkis at the foot of Mt Hypatus [Paus. 9, 19, 2].

## GOBRYAS, c. 41.

The father of Mardonius. He was one of the three original conspirators who put the false Smerdis (pretending to be Smerdis, son of Kyros) to death, and eventually gave the kingdom to Darius (3, 70, 71, 78, 87). Darius, before he became king, had married a daughter of Gobryas, and Gobryas had married a sister of Darius, by whom he was father of Mardonius (7, 5). He accompanied Darius on his expedition into Scythia, and advised the retreat which Darius was compelled to make [7, 133—4].

## HARMOKYDES, c. 17.

The leader of the thousand Phokian troops who joined Mardonius at Thebes before the battle of Plataea.

## HAGIAS, c. 33.

A brother of Tisamenos of Elis (q. v.) and a member of the Mantic family of the Klytiadae (q. v.). Both brothers were admitted to citizenship at Sparta, and remained there practising their art, for a grandson of Tisamenos was acting as *Mantis* in the Spartan army at the time of the battle of Aegospotami [Paus. 3, 11, 5].

## HEGESISTRATOS, cc. 37, 41.

A Seer of Elis, one of the Mantic family of Telliadae (q. v.), who served as *Mantis* in the army of Mardonius. He appears to have escaped after Plataea to the island of Zakynthos, which being inhabited by Achaeans was hostile to Sparta. The occasion on which he was then caught and put to death we do not learn; the

first Spartan expedition to Zakynthus of which we know was 49 years after this in B.C. 430 [Thucyd. 2, 66].

HEGETORIDAS, c. 76.

A native of the island of Kos, and son of Antagoras (q.v). He was a man of high position in the island (*ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄδοξος*, Paus. 3, 4, 7).

HELEN, c. 73.

Daughter of Tyndareus and Leda, sister of Klytemnestra, and of Kastor and Pollux. The legend of her early abduction from Sparta by Pirithoos and Theseus, her concealment at Aphidnae in Attica, and her recovery by her brothers, was among the marvels in the history of the life of Theseus, but is not mentioned in Homer, nor by any writers earlier than Herodotos.

HELLAS. HELLENES, the, cc. 1, 2, 7, etc.

Herodotos uses Hellas in the widest sense of all places occupied by Hellenes, i.e. those who are united by a common descent and language as opposed to Barbari; thus Ephesos in Asia Minor is with Herodotos in Hellas [1, 92]; and the Greek cities in Sicily are no less included [7, 157].

HELLESPONT, the, cc. 5, 66.

The narrow strait (varying from 1 to 3 miles) now called the Dardanelles, between the Thracian Chersonese and the coast of Asia. It was lined with Greek colonies, at this time wholly in the hands of Persia. Xerxes had crossed it by a double bridge of boats, which the Greeks found broken down, when after the battle of Mykale (fought on the same day as that at Plataea) they proceeded to the Hellespont. It was of great importance to the Greeks to have the Hellespont open, as there was a large corn trade with the coasts of the Black Sea, and it is principally at the Hellespont and its neighbourhood that the subsequent part of the Persian war centres.

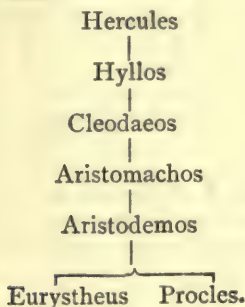
HELOTS, the, cc. 10, 28—9, 80, 85 [*ἑλωτες*].

The Helots occupied in Laconia a position in several respects like that of the villeins in England. They were praedial slaves attached to certain 'lots' of land, each paying a large proportion of the produce (according to some authorities *half*) to the Spartan who owned the lot. Certain of them also rendered personal service, both in the city and on military expeditions, to their master. Still they were also in a sense public and not personal slaves: they could not be sold out of the country, nor probably even transferred from one 'lot' of land to another; and in certain circumstances they could obtain freedom, freedom that is to live where they chose (which was what Parliament attempted to control in the *Statute of Labourers* in the time of Edward III.), though they did not at once become citizens. In the army they served as light armed troops, and one or

more was attached to each Spartan hoplite. In the army of Plataea each hoplite had seven allotted to him (or perhaps Herodotos only means that they served in that proportion); at Thermopylae it seems that each Spartan had at least one Helot as his squire or *θεράπων* [7, 229]. The origin of the name according to some was from the town Helos on the Laconic gulf, the Achaean inhabitants of which had offered a desperate resistance to the conquering Dorians and were therefore reduced to this condition. Another and more probable account is that which derives the word from the root *ἐλ-* [which appears in *ἐλλον*] and gives the general meaning of 'the Captives'. (See Müller's *Dorians*, vol. 2, ch. 3.)

HERAKLIDAE, the, cc. 26, 33.

The descendants of Hercules. The legend (much varied in different accounts) was that on the death of Hercules his sons were expelled from Argos by the usurper Eurystheus. They took refuge with the Dorians living near Parnassos, and induced them to invade the Peloponnese under the leadership of Hyllos the son of Hercules. Thus the 'return of the Heraklidae' was the legendary name for the incursion of the Dorian tribes which at some period before 800 B.C. overran and conquered the Peloponnese, with the exception of Arkadia and Achaia. The two royal families of Sparta traced their descent from Hercules thus:



The two last being twins, both ruled, and their respective heirs after them.

HERAEUM, the, cc. 52, 61, 69.

The temple of Herè, of which there were many in Greece, especially among Dorian tribes. The temple of Herè at Plataea, which is the one alluded to in these chapters, seems to have been built on an elevated platform to the north of the town, which was itself built at the foot of a steep and rugged slope of the chain of Kithaeron. It was apparently close to the road to Thebes, for when the Thebans destroyed the town in B.C. 427 they built an Inn (*καταγώγιον*) with the materials close to the Heraeum, which would be for the convenience of travellers over the mountain pass to Thebes [Thucyd. 3, 68, 4].



## HERMIONE, cc. 28, 31.

A town on the S. E. coast of Argolis, on a gulf to which it gives a name. It was one of the three towns (the others being Halice and Asine) inhabited by Dryopians, that is by a Pelasgic race formerly living in the valley of the Spercheios N. of Mt Aeta, and who being expelled by their neighbours the Dorians migrated into the Peloponnese [1, 56; 8, 31. 73], while some of them also joined the Ionian emigration into Asia [1, 146]. Hermione furnished three triremes at Salamis [8, 43].

## HERMOTYBIANS, the, c. 32.

A division of one of the seven castes or classes of the Egyptians, that of the warriors. Those which came from certain 7 cantons were called Hermotybiens, those from 12 other cantons Kalasirians (q.v.). 'Their number, when most numerous, is a hundred and sixty thousand. None of them ever practises a trade, but all are given wholly to war' [Her. 2, 165].

## HERPYS, c. 38.

A Theban, father of Timagenidas, who was one of the Medizing faction of Thebes.

## HIERONYMOS, c. 33.

An athlete of Andros, who beat Tisamenos in three out of the five contests of the Pentathlon at the Olympic games. Tisamenos won the running and leaping, but lost the discus, javelin throwing and wrestling. There was a statue of Hieronymos at Olympia in the time of Pausanias [Paus. 3, 11, 6; 6, 14, 13]. See note on *παρ' ἐν πάλαισμα* for the different accounts of this contest.

## HIPPOMACHOS, c. 38.

A native of the island of Leukas, who acted as *Mantis* or Seer to those Greeks who served in the army of Mardonius, though his own countrymen sent a contingent to the Greek army (vid. c. 28).

## HYAKINTHIA, the, cc. 7, 10.

A festival celebrated at Amyklæ, on the Eurotas, a few miles S. of Sparta. It took place in the Spartan month Hekatombeus (June—July), and was originally a mournful rite, a lamentation over the youth Hyakinthus accidentally killed by Apollo; and thence, from the idea of mourning for the death of the spring flowers, it became a general mourning for death. The Spartans as well as the actual inhabitants of Amyklæ made the greatest point of being present whatever they were doing or wherever they happened to be, "whether they are on a warlike expedition, or for whatever reason abroad, they always go to it" [Xen. *Hell.* 4, 5, 11]. The temple of Apollo at Amyklæ round which this festival centred was to Sparta what the temple of Athene was to Athens, and the Hyakinthia to the Spartans what the Dionysia were to the Athenians [Thucyd. 5, 23, 5].

## HYLLOS, cc. 2, 6.

Son of Hercules, who led the Heraklidae (q. v.) back to the Peloponnese. He was killed by Echemos of Tegea. His mother was said by some to be Melite (Apollon. Rhod. 4, 538), by others Omphale (Paus. 1, 35, 8), and by others Deianeira (Sophocles *Trach.* 56; Apollod. 2, 7, 7, 11).

## HYSIAE, c. 15, 25.

A village on the N. slopes of Kithaeron nearer Plataea than Erythrae (q. v.), through which a road from Thebes to Athens passed which joined the pass over Kithaeron from Plataea to Eleusis (see Thucyd. 3, 24, 2).

## IAMIDAE, the, c. 33.

A family of Elis in which the Mantic or Augural art was hereditary. They were descended from a common ancestor Iamus, said to be a son of Apollo by the nymph Evadna [Paus. 6, 2, 3; Pind. *Olymp.* VI. 30-5]. One member of the family had accompanied the colonists from Korinth to found Syracuse, and his descendant Agesias won the mule-chariot race at Olympia in B. C. 468, and was celebrated by Pindar in his sixth Olympian ode. This family had the especial direction of the worship of Zeus at Olympia, and many of its members are found practising the Mantic art in Doric states in various parts of Greece, Hellenic Sicily, and Italy [5, 44]. In Sparta they were held in particular honour, and had there a family tomb [Paus. 3, 12, 8].

## ILLYRIANS, the, c. 31.

The inhabitants of Illýris [Lat. Illýricum], a large tract of country lying along the east coast of the Adriatic between Istria in the N. and Epirus on the S., comprehending the modern Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, with parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Albania. Its inhabitants were barbarians of a race different from the people of Thrace or Epiros, and were little known at the time of Herodotos. They are supposed to be the ancestors of the modern Albanians, and a tribe of them called Eneti (Her. 1. 196) are the origin of the *Veneti*. See also ENCHELEANS.

## INDIANS, the, c. 31.

"The Indians included within the Empire of Darius were probably the inhabitants of the Punjaub, together with those of the lower valley of the Indus, the country known now as Scinde." Rawlinson. They were made into a Satrapy—the twentieth—by Darius, and paid a tribute of 360 talents in gold dust [3, 94].

## IONIANS, the, c. 26.

Those of the Hellenic settlers in Greece who according to the myth were descended from Ion, son of Xuthos, the third son of Hellen. They appear first to have settled in the northern district

of the Peloponnese, afterwards called Achaia [Her. vii. 94] and in Attica and Euboea. Athens was regarded (though without any certain historical basis) as the *μητρόπολις* of the Ionian states, which were established in various parts of Greece. The most numerous and flourishing were those in Asia Minor, such as Ephesos and Miletos; and when Herodotus speaks of 'the Ionians' he usually means these Asiatic states between the river Hermos on the north and the district of Miletos on the south. They consisted of twelve states, viz. Miletos, Myos, Priene, *in Caria*; Ephesos, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenae, Phokaea, Erythra, *in Lydia*; and two islands, Samos and Chios, who signalised their connexion by a yearly meeting at the Pan-Ionium, near the temple of Poseidon on the promontory of Mykale, or at a later period at Ephesos [see Her. i, 142; Thucyd. 3, 104].

ISLAND, the, c. 51.

A spot so called, though really a peninsula, formed by the confluence of some small streams flowing from the slope of Kithaeron into the Oëroë, about a mile to the west (i.e. nearer to the town of Plataea) of the second position of the Greeks.

ISTHMUS, the, cc. 7, 8, 12—3, 13, 15, 19, 27.

The Isthmus of Korinth is called *the* Isthmus by Herodotus and Thucydides; when any other is meant it is distinguished by some explanatory word as *Παλλήνης*, *Χερσονήσου*, or the like. It is about 5 miles broad. We hear of ships being dragged across at times [Thucyd. 3, 15], and in later times a regular tramway was made for this purpose called a *diolkos* [διολκός, Strab. 8, 2], and Nero even began a canal (Lucian, *Nero*). At the time of the Persian war the Greeks of the Peloponnese looked to the Isthmus as their chief protection because it was passed by difficult roads, and it admitted of being effectually blocked by artificial means.

ITHOME, c. 35.

A high and abrupt mountain in the centre of Messenia, on which the revolted Helots encamped in B.C. 461. About a hundred years later it became the Acropolis of the new town Messene. It was so strong that Demetrios of Pharos said that to possess it and Korinth was like holding the two horns of a bull,—such complete control would it give over the Peloponnese (Strab. 8, 4).

KADMEIANS, the, c. 27.

The poetical or mythical name for the Thebans, deduced from the legend of an immigration of Phoenikians or Egyptians under Kadmos, who was said to have brought with him the Alphabet, the worship of Dionysos, and other arts. According to Thucydides [i, 12] the whole of Boeotia was anciently called Kadmeis.

KALASIRIES, the, c. 32.

A division of one of the seven castes or classes of the Egyptians, that of the warriors. Those which came from certain 12 cantons



were called Kalasiries, those from 7 other cantons Hermotybians. The Kalasirians [Klashr] were mostly archers and were 250,000 in number [Her. 2, 164—6].

KALLICRATES, c. 72, 85.

A Spartan officer who fell by an arrow just before the battle of Plataea. We only know of him from these passages of Herodotos.

KEPHALLENGIA, c. 23.

The largest island in the Ionian sea, still called *Cefallonia* [31 m. by 8 to 16 m.]. It was a tetropolis, that is, it was divided between four city states, Pale, Kranii, Pronnessos, Same. The whole island was in Homer's time called by the last of these names. It was the only island on the west of Greece that contributed a contingent to the Greek army on this occasion; as the island north of it—Leukas—was the only one that contributed ships to the fleet at Salamis.

KITHAERON, cc. 19, 25, 38—9, 51, 56.

A range of mountains separating the Megarid and Attica from Boeotia. It forms the southern wall of the valley of the Asopos, and skirted by a road from Megara to Thespieae leading by Kreusis and Aegosthenae round its western foot, forming a narrow ledge between it and the sea. It is crossed by the pass of Dryoskephalae leading from Eleusis to Hysiae down into the valley of the Asopos; and by another from the Athenian plain which passes over Mount Parnes at Phyle and then down the slopes of Kithaeron and across the Asopos to Thebes. The range of Kithaeron is 'savage, cold, gloomy and inhospitable', its precipitous cliffs are crowned with dark forests of pine and silver firs, and their sides are hollowed by numerous caves.

KLEADES, c. 85.

A Plataean, proxenus of Aegina.

KLEOMBROTOS, cc. 10, 64, 78.

Kleombrotos, the father of Pausanias, was son of Anaxandridas (q.v.) and twin brother of Leonidas. When Leonidas fell at Thermopylae leaving one son Pleistarchos, a minor, Kleombrotos became regent, but died in the autumn of 479 or spring of 478, and was succeeded in the regency by his son Pausanias.

KLYTIADAE, the, c. 33.

A family in Elis in which the art of a Mantis or Soothsayer was hereditary. Herodotos regards them as a branch of the famous Mantic family of the Tamidae (q.v.), but other writers speak of them as distinct (Cic. *de Div.* 1, 41), and as descendants of Melampus (q.v.).

KORINTHOS, c. 88. KORINTHIANS, the, cc. 28, 31, 69.

The territory of Korinthos was separated from the Megarid on the north by the range of Geraneia, and from Argolis on the south by that of *Oncum*, 'the Ass's back'. The isthmus averages about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles in breadth, and very little of it is fertile. Corinth itself consisted of an acropolis, the Akrokorinthos (1900 ft.), with a town round it enclosed with walls, and joined to its harbour on the western coast, Lechaëum, by long walls, like those of Athens, extending a little more than a mile. Its port on the east coast, Kenchreae, was more than eight miles distant. The position of Korinth made it naturally the seat of commerce from early times, and in it the art of building ships of war or triremes was first practised. Holding also the pass between northern Greece and the Peloponnese it had a greater influence in Hellenic politics than the character of its rich and luxurious citizens seems to warrant. The prevailing element in its population was Dorian, and its inclination was therefore generally to side with Sparta rather than Athens. In the Persian war it did not play a very dignified or conspicuous part. At Salamis its ships were said to have been turned to flight, though this was perhaps a later calumny (VIII. 94), and at Plataea its soldiers were among those who retreated to the Heraeum and returned too late for the battle. Its ships and men however did some good service at Mykale (id. 9, 102). The wall which the Peloponnesians built across the isthmus, about 8 miles east of the town, was often reconstructed afterwards, and remains of one of uncertain date can still be traced. Korinth was the mother city of many flourishing colonies, Syracuse, Korkyra, Potidaea and others.

Kos, c. 76.

An island, about 23 m. long, off the coast of Karia, and opposite the peninsula of Halikarnassos. It was rich in vines, and celebrated for the manufacture of a fine gauze, and for a school of physicians which was settled round its temple of Aesculapios. It was a member of the Doric Pentapolis, and like the other Greek states on and near the coast of Asia Minor had become tributary to the king of Persia, and for some time was ruled by a tyrannus; but had before the period of the invasion of Greece obtained a democratic form of government by the voluntary resignation of its tyrannus Kadmos [VII. 154].

LAKEDAEMON, c. 6.

LAKEDAEMONIANS, the, cc. 7, 11, 14, 19, 28—9, 31, 33, 37, 47—9, 52, 58—60, 70—1, 73.

The inhabitants of the whole district, Lakedaemon or Lakonia, over which the city of Sparta (which contained 8000 men of military age, 7, 234) was supreme. Sometimes the word is used as equivalent to 'Spartans' as in c. 11, sometimes the two are distinguished as in c. 28, and sometimes it is applied to other than

the full Spartan citizens, as to the Perioeki in c. 11 *ad fin.*; sometimes to all the inhabitants or soldiers of Lakonia as in c. 31, etc. The Lakedaemonians exercised supreme influence in the Peloponnese, though not actual government except in Lakonia and Messenia; and it will be seen that when they determined to act against the Persians they were followed by most of the principal states in the Peloponnese, except Argos which had been long at enmity with them.

LACHESIS, c. 43.

The three fates (*Μοῖραι*), Klotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, were the daughters of the Night. Lachesis is she who assigns men their lot (*λαγχάνω*).

LAMPON, c. 9.

(1) c. 21. An Athenian, father of Olympiodoros.

(2) cc. 78—9. An Aeginetan, son of Pytheas, who distinguished himself in an engagement with the Persians just before the three days at Artemisium [7, 181].

LARISSA, cc. 1, 58.

One of the most important cities of Thessaly, situated on the right bank of the R. Peneus. It was the residence of the powerful family of the Aleuadae (q. v.). It is still an important town.

LEAGROS, c. 75.

An Athenian, son of Glaucon, and father again of a son named Glaucon who commanded in a naval battle against Korinth [Thucyd. 1, 51]. Leagros was in chief command of the expedition to Datum (q. v.) mentioned in the text, and apparently fell with the others near Drabeskos [Pausan. 1, 29, 4—5]. This took place about B. C. 465, and was connected with the first settlement of Amphipolis by Kimon. The settlers were nearly entirely destroyed at Drabeskos by the Edonian Thracians. See Thucyd. 1, 100; 4, 102, 2.

LEONIDAS, cc. 10, 64, 78—9.

King of Sparta from B. C. 491 to B. C. 480. He was a younger son of Anaxandridas (q. v.), and succeeded to the kingdom on the death of his brother Kleomenes, whose daughter Gorgo he married, and by whom when he fell at Thermopylae he left a young son, Pleistarchos, under the guardianship of his brother Kleombrotos. Kleombrotos died in the same, or early in the next, year and was succeeded in the regency and guardianship of Pleistarchos by his son Pausanias (q. v.). Leonidas seems to have been fully aware of the hopelessness of his position at Thermopylae, and to have done his best to prevent more Greeks being involved in his disaster than could be helped; this unselfishness joined to his singular gallantry has secured him the first rank among the patriots of Greece [7, 204—222].



LEPREATS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Lepreum (or Lepreos), a town in Elis, in the district called Triphylia. They appear to have been Minyan colonists from Orchomenos in Arkadia, and they maintained their independence for many years after this time, feeling especially averse to being included in a confederacy of Elis, and preferring to be reckoned as Arkadians [Thucyd. 5, 21; Paus. 5, 5, 3].

LEUKADIANS, cc. 28, 31, 38.

The inhabitants of Leukadia (*Santa Maura*), a considerable island off the coast of Akarnania, about 20 miles long. Its chief town was Leukas, which was a colony from Korinth, and was at the extreme north of the island, where it is separated from the mainland by a very narrow strait. The Leukadians had in the previous year sent three ships to Artemisium [8, 45—7].

LYKIDAS, c. 5.

An Athenian, and a member of the Boulè in the year B.C. 481—480, of whom nothing is known beyond the story told in the text.

LOKRIANS, the, c. 31.

The inhabitants of Lokris, a district on the coast of the Malian gulf, separated from Thessaly by the range of Cēta, over which is the pass of Thermopylae, and abutting on the west upon Doris and Phokis and on the south upon Boeotia. The Lokrians had complied with the Persian demand of earth and water [7, 132], but still had fought on the Greek side at Artemisium [8, 1] and Thermopylae [7, 23]; but after the disaster of Thermopylae they had been compelled unwillingly to serve in the Persian army.

LYSIMACHOS, c. 28.

An Athenian, father of Aristides (q.v.). He belonged to the deme Alopekæ, and appears to have been a poor man [Plut. *Ar.* 1].

MAKEDONIA, c. 89. MAKEDONIANS, the, c. 31. MAKEDONIAN, a, c. 45.

Makedonia, the most northern district of Greece, was separated from Thessaly by the Cambunian range of mountains, and was divided from Illyricum and Epirus on the west by Mts Scardos and Lingon. Though it afterwards, under Philip and his son Alexander, became supreme over Greece, it possessed no influence there at present, and was scarcely regarded as Hellenic at all. It was in a semi-barbaric state, and was being slowly organised by its kings, who were, or claimed to be, of Argive descent (see Alexander). They had been reduced to subjection to Persia in B.C. 493—2 [Her. 6, 44].

MALIANS, the, c. 31.

The inhabitants of Malis, a district of Thessaly between the R. Spercheios and Mt Oeta. They had given earth and water to

the Persian king [Her. 7, 132], and were now serving in the army of Mardonius. Malis was surrounded by mountains, but contained wide plains in which the Persian cavalry had been matched successfully with the Thessalian [id. 7, 196—8].

**MANTINEA, cc. 35, 77.**

A town of Arkadia. Its situation led to its being the scene of more important battles than any other town in Greece. In the first place it stood in a plain convenient for military evolutions between two mountains, Maenalos and Artemisium, and just at the narrowest part of the plain; and in the second place it was at the junction of four roads leading to Orchomenos, Tegea, Pallantium and Argos. The five important battles named for it are (1) between the Lakedaemonians under Agis and the Athenians and Argives B.C. 418, (2) between the Thebans under Epaminondas and the Spartans B.C. 362, (3) between the Spartans and Demetrios Poliorketes B.C. 295, (4) between the Spartans and Aratus B.C. 242, (5) between the Lakedaemonians and Achaeans under Philopoemen B.C. 207. Besides these great battles there were many minor ones fought near it, and the town itself was on several occasions taken, destroyed, and restored.

**MARATHON, c. 46.**

A plain extending for about six miles along the north-east coast of Attica, about 26 miles from Athens, from which it is approached by two hilly roads. The plain, which averages two miles in breadth, was clothed at either extremity by salt marshes, and was fringed by a broad sandy beach. It was the scene of the famous battle between the Persians under Dares and Artaphernes and the Athenians under Miltiades in B.C. 490.

**MARDONIUS, cc. 1, 2, 4, 12, 14—5, 17—20, 24, 31—2, 37—45, 49, 63—4, 70, 82, 84.**

Son of Gobryas by a sister of Darius, whose daughter Artazostra he married. He first appears in Greek history as the agent of Darius in B.C. 493 in carrying out a new policy in regard to the Ionian states. The Persian government had insisted on the maintenance of the Tyrants in these cities, but Mardonius now established democracies in them, apparently with the idea of conciliating Greek feeling in favour of the Persian supremacy, a policy so unlike that which had generally been pursued by Persia that Herodotos seems to expect that his assertion will be disbelieved [6, 43]. Mardonius, however, when pushing on his conquests into Europe sustained reverses at the hands of the Thracians and was removed from his command [6, 45, 94]. We next hear of him as urging the reluctant Xerxes to his great expedition against Greece [7, 5, 9], in which he was one of two commanders-in-chief of the land forces [7, 82]. After Salamis he persuaded Xerxes to return home, and was left behind with 300,000 men to complete the sub-

jugation of Greece. This was now a matter of life and death to him, seeing that the attempt had been made by his advice [8, 100—6]. After escorting Xerxes to the Hellespont he wintered in Thessaly B.C. 480—479 [8, 113], from which, after consulting the oracles, he endeavoured to win over Athens by the agency of Alexander of Makedon [8, 133—141], and on the failure of this negotiation marched once more into Attica and occupied Athens. His subsequent proceedings and death are narrated in the text.

MASISTIOS, cc. 20, 22, 24—5.

A Persian cavalry officer, whose name the Greeks altered to *Makistios*, as though from *μήκιστος* ('tallest'), because of his gigantic height.

MEDES, the, cc. 31, 40, 43—4, 67, 87.

The Medes were an Aryan people [7, 62], who when first heard of inhabited a district south of the Caspian, now called Khorassan. Thence they emigrated, and by the middle of the 7th century B.C. were settled in the country known as Media Magna. For a while they were partially or wholly subject to the Assyrian monarchy, but after a time they shook off this subjection and became the dominant power in Asia, a Median monarchy being probably first established about B.C. 635—0 by Kyaxares. This monarch, about B.C. 624, attacked and took Nineveh. From this period the great Assyrian monarchy is divided into two independent kingdoms—Medes and Babylonians. The Medes, under Kyaxares, subdued the part of Asia 'beyond the river Halys' [1, 103] and even threatened Asia Minor. The successor of Kyaxares, Astyages, was conquered by Kyros at the head of the mountain tribe of the Persians. The result was a new combination, and a new monarchy overrunning the whole of Asia, conquering Babylon and Lydia, and which is sometimes called the Persian Empire, sometimes the Medo-Persian. We read in Daniel of the 'laws of the Medes and Persians', as though that were the official designation. And the Greeks spoke of their great enemies as 'Medes' or 'Persians' indifferently, and of those Greeks who joined them as 'Medizing'; but Herodotos clearly distinguishes the two people, giving the palm of valour to the Persians.

MEGARA, c. 14. MEGARIANS, the, c. 69. MEGARID, the, c. 14.

Megara stood on the Saronic gulf, a mile inland, with a harbour town of Nisaea to which it had been joined by long walls. It was on the road from Athens and Eleusis through the isthmus, and therefore its friendship or neutrality was of great importance to Athens and the Peloponnesians. The district belonging to it—the Megarid—extended right across the N. of the isthmus and contained a port on the Korinthian gulf called Pagae. The Megarians were Ionians, but had been at one time under the dominion of the Dorians of Korinth. At this time however Megara was independent. Geographically it belongs rather to Attica, for the range of Gereneia



shuts it off from Korinth and was crossed by three difficult passes; whereas it was open towards Attica, and indeed the greater part of it seems once to have been united with Attica politically [5, 76].

#### MELAMPUS, c. 34.

A seer, or *Mantis*, of Pylos, in Elis, who according to the legend obtained a third of the royal power of Argos for himself, and another third for his brother Bias [q. v.], the remaining third being retained by the existing king Anaxagoras. Pausanias [1, 44, 5] mentions a temple to Melampus at Aegosthena in Megaris; and he is mentioned in the *Odyssey* as a wealthy inhabitant of Pylos who emigrated to Argos and became king there; but he is there represented as driven from Pylos by the tyranny of Neleus [*Od.* xv. 225—255].

#### MESSENIANS, the, c. 64.

The Messenians were the inhabitants of the S. W. province of the Peloponnese, a mountainous district, whose people had for long years been at constant feud with their neighbours the Lakedaemonians until they were reduced to subjection in the second Messenian war (B.C. 685—668). The Messenian war alluded to in the text was the war of Sparta against the revolted Helots [B.C. 464—455], chiefly consisting of Messenians, who, having been reduced to the state of unenfranchised inhabitants of their own country, were always ready to strike a blow at their masters. They held out for nine years in a stronghold on Mt Ithome, and when they at length had to surrender, they were able to stipulate for the safety of their lives, and were settled by the Athenians in Naupaktus.

#### MOLOEIS, the, c. 57.

A small stream running down a slope of Mt Kithaeron into the Oëroe (q. v.). On its banks or near them was the 3rd position occupied by the Spartans, and the scene of the actual fighting in the battle of Plataea.

#### MURYCHIDES, c. 415.

A Greek of some town on the Hellespont, employed as messenger by Mardonius to convey his proposals to Athens.

#### MUSAEUS, c. 43.

Musaeus, who is generally coupled with Orpheus, was the author, or reputed so, of a number of poems, chiefly oracular, current as early as B.C. 520. He was said by some to have been a Thracian, and by others an Eleusinian; and Pausanias [1, 22, 7] mentions a hymn to Demeter as a genuine composition of his. He is thus, like Orpheus, connected with the mysteries or secret rites of Demeter. Herodotos [7, 6] says that his oracular poems were edited by Onomakritos of Athens, who foisted in certain

verses as to the island near Lemnos; and also that his poems contained clear prophecies of the battle of Salamis [8, 96].

#### MYKENAE, cc. 27, 28—31.

Mykenae is reckoned in Homer [*Il.* 2, 569] as the chief city of Argolis. But since the heroic times it had fallen in importance; and after the Persian war it and Tiryns were punished for taking sides against Persia, contrary to the policy of the rest of Argolis, by being left to fall into ruins while their inhabitants were transferred to Argos [Paus. 5, 23, 2]. It was built round a hill, on which was the Acropolis surrounded by a Cyclopiian wall, i.e. a wall built of huge stones, sometimes 15 feet high, which the Greeks, being equally puzzled as ourselves to account for the means of moving them, declared to be the work of the giant Cyclopes. Within the last few years the ruins of Mykenae have been explored by Dr Schliemann, the so-called treasure house of Atreus and tomb of Agamemnon opened, and many articles of interest discovered.

#### MYSIANS, the, c. 32.

The people of Mysia, the N.W. district of Asia Minor bordering on the Propontis and Aegean. The part bordering on the Propontis and Hellespont was called Mysia Minor, the interior with the capital Pergamum was called Mysia Major, while the N.W. was called Troas, and in the Persian times Phrygia Minor; the S.W. coast district was called Aeolis, and the southern district on the frontier of Lydia was called Teuthrania. The inhabitants were a mixed race which had emigrated at various times from Thrace, while a large number of Hellenic colonies had settled along the coasts. The Mysians (as distinct from these Hellenic settlers) seem to have considered themselves of the same race as the Karians [*Her.* 1, 171]; they were first subdued by Kroesos [*ib.* 1, 28], and after his fall they became tributary to the Persians and were included by Darius in the Second Satrapy [*id.* 3, 90].

#### NISAEAN HORSES, c. 20.

The Nisaeian horses were long famous. The sacred horses of the Persian king's chariot were of this breed, and they were of unusual size [*Her.* 7, 40]. Their name is taken from a plain in Media which Rawlinson identifies with that of *Khawar* and *Alistan* near *Behistun*, in which there is excellent pasture.

#### OËROË, the, c. 51.

A small river in Boeotia flowing into the Korinthian gulf, formed by the confluence of two smaller streams descending from Mt Kithaeron. The land lying between these two streams is that which Herodotos calls 'the Island,' and to which Pausanias intended to remove from the 2nd Greek position.

## OLYMPIA, c. 8r.

Situated on a plain three miles long and one broad in Elis, on the N. bank of the Alphaeus at its junction with the R. Kladeos. On this plain was the stadium where the contests of the Olympic games took place; and in this space were many temples, the largest and most important being that of Zeus Olympios founded in 572 B.C. and decorated by Pheidias in B.C. 435—3, and in which was his colossal statue of Zeus made of ivory and gold.

## OLYMPIODOROS, c. 21.

An Athenian, son of Lampon, an officer in the Athenian contingent at Plataea.

## ORCHOMENIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Orchomenos in Arkadia, a town a short distance N. of Mantinea (q. v.). In the time of Pausanias the site of the city had been changed from the top of the hill on which it stood to lower ground, though the ancient agora and walls could still be traced [Paus. 8, 13, 2]. They had in the previous year sent a contingent of 120 men to Thermopylae [7, 202].

## ORESTEIUM, c. 11.

A town in a district of Arkadia called Moenalia, sometimes written *Orestheium* [Thucyd. 5, 64, 3], sometimes *Oresthasium* [Paus. 8, 3, 2, etc.], on the right of the road from Megalopolis to Tegea, and apparently to the left of the road from Sparta to the isthmus which passed through Tegea [Paus. 8, 44, 2]. Whether the name was really connected with Orestes seems uncertain, but the poets assumed that it was so [Eur. *Orest.* 1647], and the remains of Orestes were said to have been found in the neighbouring town of Tegea [1, 68].

## PAEONIANS, the, c. 32.

The inhabitants of a district of Makedonia on the river Strymon. They were said to have been colonists from Troy [5, 13], and were an industrious quiet people, who having the misfortune to attract the notice of Darius were by his orders transported bodily into Asia [5, 15], but enabled by Aristagoras during the Ionic revolt to return to Europe [5, 98]. They remained however subject to Persia and duly supplied a contingent to the army of Xerxes [7, 113].

## PALEANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Palè, or Palus, one of the four cities of Kephallenia (q. v.), and the most important of the four, situated on the S. W. extremity of the island.

## PALLENE, c. 28.

The most western of the three projecting headlands which terminate the Chalkidic Peninsula; see *Potidaea*.

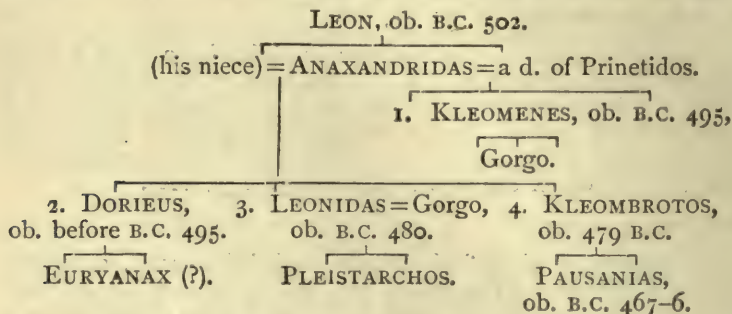


## PARNASSOS, c. 31.

A range of mountains in Phokis, rising at its highest point (Lykorea) 8000 feet. The range terminates in a double peak above Delphi.

PAUSANIAS, cc. 10, 13, 21, 28, 45—6, 50, 53, 64, 76, 87—82, 88.

Pausanias, the Spartan commander in the campaign of 479 B.C. and commander-in-chief of the Greek forces at Plataea, was of the elder royal family—that is of the branch which was descended from the elder son of Aristodemus, who was fourth in descent from Hercules [see *Heracidae*]<sup>—</sup>and was a cousin of Leonidas, as will be seen from the accompanying pedigree [5, 39—41; 7, 204; 9, 64]:—



Upon his death at Thermopylae Leonidas was succeeded by his son Pleistarchos, a minor, and his brother Kleombrotos became guardian of the young king and regent. Kleombrotos died late in B.C. 480 or early in the year 479 B.C. and his son Pausanias then became regent in his place and guardian of Pleistarchos. This was his position when the Peloponnesian army collected to oppose Mardonius. We have no particulars of the life of Pausanias before this date, and his subsequent history is only casually alluded to by Herodotos [5, 32; 8, 3]. But fuller details are given by Thucydides [1, 94, sq.] and by Diodorus Siculus [11, 44—6], and Cornelius Nepos has written a life of him founded on what he found in Thucydides.

The fact seems to have been that the sight of Persian luxury, which he at first seemed or pretended to despise [9, 82], presented too enticing a contrast to the absurd rigidity of Spartan habits to be resisted. This was an influence to which the Spartans yielded more easily than the inhabitants of any Greek state. Added to this his elation at the victory of Plataea set his thoughts upon securing the royal position, which he only held temporarily as guardian of his nephew, and extending it into something like a tyranny or despotism over all Greek states. The first indication which he gave of this vanity was a sentence in the inscription upon the stand of the thanksgiving tripod at Delphi ascribing the victory at Plataea to himself, which the Spartans caused to be erased (an erasure which it is said can now be traced in the stand of twisted serpents existing

at Constantinople). Still he was sent out in command of the Spartan ships to Byzantium in B.C. 478; from which place however enough complaints of his conduct and treasonable correspondence with Persia reached Sparta to induce the Ephors to recall him. He was not on this occasion convicted of treason, but merely censured for overhearing behaviour, and superseded by Dorkis. At the end of the year the Spartans ceased to take part in the naval resistance to Persia, leaving it to the newly-founded confederacy of Delos. Pausanias however (B.C. 477) joined the confederate fleet with a single ship. There he behaved in an extraordinary manner; he assumed the Persian dress, was attended by a body-guard, refused to admit Greeks to his presence, dined with eastern magnificence, and finally, retiring to Kolonae in the Troad, entered into a directly treasonable correspondence with the Persian court. He was said also to have married the daughter of the king's cousin, but Herodotos [5, 32] seems to have some doubt of the truth of the story. He did not venture, however, to refuse obedience when an official despatch arrived from the Ephors ordering him to return home. Arrived in Sparta he was thrown into prison, but by some means obtained permission to be at large while the Ephors were collecting evidence. He employed this interval in tampering with the helots, and in keeping up his correspondence with Persia, by means of slaves whom he requested should on arrival be put to death. He was at last betrayed by one Argilios, who, feeling suspicious of the non-return of other messengers, opened a letter which he was to carry and found a request for his own death. Argilios after communicating with the Ephors took sanctuary at the temple of Poseidon at Taenarum. Thither Pausanias came to see what was wrong; the Ephors were so concealed as to enable them to overhear the conversation which ensued, and thus obtained evidence. As Pausanias was returning he met the Ephors, and suspecting what had happened from their looks, or from a hint conveyed by one of them, he too took sanctuary in the temple of Athene of the Brazen-house. Not being willing directly to violate the sanctuary the Ephors built up the door, the mother of Pausanias bringing the first stone, and left him there to perish by hunger. When he was on the point of death he was carried out and immediately expired. Such was the end of the victor of Plataea.

PELOPONNESE, the, cc. 6, 9, 26, 39, 50.

PELOPONNESIANS, the, cc. 8, 19, 26, 73.

The Peloponnese ('Island of Pelops') is not a name known in Homeric times. In the *Iliad* the only name given to the whole seems to be Argos, for Ephyra in Elis is spoken of as being in *μυχῇ Ἀργεος ἱπποβότοιο* *Il.* 6, 152; cf. *Odyss.* 4, 173 where 'Argos' refers to Lakonia, and 3, 251 where the Peloponnese is called Ἀργος Ἀχαϊκόν. And, finally, some have regarded ἀπὴν in *Il.* 1, 269, 'the distant land', as a territorial name for the Peloponnese. The name Peloponnese was certainly subsequent to the settlement of the Dorians

and was referred by the Greeks to the wealth and power of Pelops son of Tantalos. It contains about 1780 square miles, and at the time of the Persian war was divided into six provinces, Elis, Messenia, Lakonia, Argolis, Achaia, Arkadia,—of which the two last were much less Hellenised than the others, Achaia as its name imports having served as a place of retreat for the ancient Achæan inhabitants before the invading Dorians, and Arkadia from its strong mountain barriers having been able almost entirely to resist their attack.

By 'Peloponnesians' Herodotos means in this book usually the body of men composed of contingents from the various cities in the Peloponnese, including of course the Spartans, who are also when combined with their helots and perioeki styled 'Lacedæmonians'.

PERSIANS, the, cc. 8, 10, 15—6, 24, 27, 31, 33, 38—42, 45, 51, 58—61, 68, 70—1, 82.

The Persians, an Aryan race like the Medes, were a mountain tribe led down about B.C. 559 by Kyros against the Median king Astyages in his capital Ecbatana. The overthrow of Astyages was followed in B.C. 546 by the conquest of Lydia, and by that of Babylon in B.C. 538. From the overthrow of Astyages the Median Empire became the Empire of the Medes and Persians; but the royal family still traced their descent from Kyros,—the Mede Darius having married his daughter,—and the Persians still were a distinct race, and in the view of Herodotos [c. 68] the best soldiers, and indeed the centre and mainstay, of the royal army. A very distinct character of the Persians may be traced in Herodotos; he represents them as 'brave, lively, spirited, capable of witty and keen repartees' [1, 127, 141; 6, 1; 8, 88], 'but vain, weak, impulsive, and hopelessly servile to their lords' [3, 25; 7, 56, 223; 9, 113]. Rawl.

PHALERUM, c. 32.

The old harbour town of Athens on the east side of the bay of Phalerum, on the W. of which was the Peiræus. It was afterwards joined to Athens by a long wall (about B.C. 456) between three and four miles long. At the time of the Persian invasion it was the regular harbour of Athens; the adoption of the more convenient harbour of the Peiræus and its fortification were due to Themistocles shortly after the Persian war.

PHARANDATES, c. 76.

A Persian, son of Theaspis, who commanded the Mares and Kolchians in the grand army [7, 79].

PHARNACES, cc. 41, 66.

A Persian, father of Artabazus (q. v.).

PHEGEUS, c. 26.

A king of Phegia in Arcadia before the period of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese. The city before his time was called



Erymanthos, and his sons Temenos and Axion are said to have been reigning at the time of the Trojan war [Paus. 8, 24, 2—10].

PHILOKYON, cc. 71, 85.

A Spartan youth (*εἰργυ*) who fell at Plataea.

PHLIASIANS, the, cc. 28, 31, 85.

The inhabitants of Phlios, a town and small territory to the N. of Argolis and S. of Sikyonia. The people were Dorians and generally in close alliance with Sparta. The territory consisted of a high valley watered by the River Asopos and surrounded by mountains. Phlios sent 200 men to Thermopylae [Her. 7, 202].

PHOKIS, c. 66. PHOKIANS, the, cc. 17—8, 31, 85.

Phokis was a considerable district bounded on the S. by the Gulf of Corinth, and by Doris and eastern Lokris on the N. It contained the range of Parnassos and the sacred city of Delphi, which however was inhabited by a different race,—probably Dorians. The Phokians were a confederacy of towns mostly situated in the valley of the Kephissos, and were looked upon as people of mixed Aeolian and Achæan race. They were almost perpetually at enmity with the Thessalians and indeed had built a wall across the pass of Thermopylae to check their raids [7, 176]; and according to Herodotos their chief motive for not joining the Persians earlier was hatred of the Thessalians [8, 30]. Even when some of them did join Mardonius a large number refused, and, entrenching themselves about Parnassos assisted the Greeks [c. 31].

PHRYGIANS, the, c. 32.

The people of Phrygia, the central district of Asia Minor, a mountainous and well-watered country inhabited by tribes connected with the Thracians. They had been once a warlike people, but when they became part of the Persian Empire they devoted themselves entirely to agriculture.

PITANETAN lochos, the, c. 53.

A division of the Spartan army composed of men of the hamlet Pitana, which according to the best evidence was on the west of the town of Sparta. Thucydides [1, 20] denied that the 'Pitanetan lochos' had any existence, but this seems only to mean that no 'lochos' was particularly called by that name in his time; and if the Spartan army was enrolled by the several pagi or hamlets which went to make up Sparta, Herodotos might still call it the 'lochos of Pitana', when he was speaking of it and its commander taking separate action from the main body in which it would generally be absorbed; just as at times all the men of a certain tribe with their commander in an Athenian army would be told off for a separate and special duty. See the case of Aristides and his tribe after Marathon [Plut. *Arist.* 5].

PLATAEA, cc. 7, 15—6, 25, 28, 30—1, 34, 36—7, 41, 51—2, 72, 76—7, 85—6, 88.

„ district of, c. 25

„ people of, c. 83.

The territory of Plataea was separated from Attica on the S. by Kithaeron, Eleutherae which came between having voluntarily enrolled itself with Attica [Paus. i, 38, 8], and from the territory of Thebes on the N. by the river Asopos. Toward the east, along the valley of the Asopos, it was limited by the village of Hysiae. The town stood 'on the steep and rugged slopes which fall from the heights of Kithaeron into the valley on the north. In this lower ground, and near the walls of the city, two small rivers take their rise, and flow in opposite directions'—Oëroe flows west to the Korinthian gulf, Asopos to the east into the Euboic gulf. Plataea is 7 miles from Thespieae, 6½ miles from Thebes. The Plataeans had long been disinclined to share the policy of the Boeotian league, and having been accordingly persecuted by the Thebans, they had put themselves under the protection of Athens about B.C. 501 [Her. 3. 108. Thucyd. 3, 68]. This union had been cemented by the fact of 1000 men being sent by Plataea, alone of the Greek states, to help the Athenians at Marathon; and they were now warmly cooperating with the Greek patriotic army. The subsequent history of the town includes its siege and destruction by the Thebans in B.C. 429—7, its partial restoration in B.C. 387, a second destruction by the Thebans in B.C. 374, and its final restoration in B.C. 338. At its destruction in B.C. 427 the bulk of its inhabitants were admitted to Athenian citizenship. The actual site of the battle in 479 B.C. was somewhat less than a mile from the town.

PLEISTARCHOS, c. 10.

Son of Leonidas, whom he succeeded after the latter's fall at Thermopylae as king of Sparta. He was at this time a minor (probably about 8 years old) and he died without issue not many years after becoming full king, in B.C. 458,—for his successor Pleistanax, son of Pausanias, died in B.C. 408, after a reign of 50 years [Diod. 13, 75].

POLIADES, c. 53.

A Spartan of the hamlet Pitana, father of Amompharëtos (q. v.).

POLYNEIKES, c. 27.

Son of Oedipus and Iocaste, and one of the seven heroes who fell in their attack upon Thebes, killing, and being killed by, his brother Eteocles. Polyneikes had been driven from Thebes by his brother, and was trying to regain his country by the help of his father-in-law Adrastus, king of Argos. This heroic legend is the subject of the play of Aeschylos 'The Seven against Thebes', as also indirectly of the 'Antigone' of Sophocles.

## POSEIDON, c. 81.

Brother of Zeus, and God of the Sea. There were many temples to Poseidon in various parts of Greece, usually of course near the sea; the one referred to in the text was that on the isthmus of Corinth, standing along with one to Palaemon in a sacred enclosure where the Isthmian games were held, about 7 miles to the east of the town, and close to the wall which was built across the isthmus.

## POSEIDONIOS, cc. 71, 85.

A Spartan *eiren*, or youth, who distinguished himself at Plataea.

## POTIDAEA, c. 28. POTIDAEANS, c. 31.

Potidaea, a colony of Corinth, was situated on the narrowest part of the peninsula of Pallene (q. v.). Xerxes seems to have occupied it with his fleet on its way down in the spring of 480 B.C. [7, 123]. But after the battle of Salamis, the inhabitants declared their hostility to the Persians and stood a 3 months' siege at the hands of Artabazus [8, 124], who lost the greater part of his army by trying to get round the *χηλή* or sea wall [8, 129, cp. Thucyd. 1, 63]. Thus saved, the Potidacans sent a contingent of 300 to assist the patriotic army.

## PYLOS, c. 34.

A town of Elis; about 10 miles to the east of the town of Elis, on a tributary of the Peneus called Ladon [Paus. 6, 22, 3]. It must not be confused with Pylos in Messenia, celebrated in Homer as the home of Nestor, and in the Peloponnesian war as the scene of a Spartan defeat.

## PYTHEAS, c. 78.

An Aeginetan, father of Lampon, and whose father's name also was Lampon. He won a victory at the Nemean games in the boys' Pancratiun somewhere between B.C. 490 and 480, which is celebrated by Pindar, *Nem.* v.

## PYTHIA, the, c. 33.

The prophetic priestess of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (*προφῆτις*). She was a young girl, generally of the lower class, who was selected for the office by the members of certain noble families at Delphi. She remained in her office for life and was not allowed to marry. When required to give forth oracles, she was seated on a tripod placed over a hole, from which rose a subterranean gas, and the words she uttered when under the influence of this fume were noted down and delivered as an oracle by the attendant priest (*προφήτης*), as being from the direct inspiration of the god, though they were usually first reduced to a poetical form. Great care was taken to secure the integrity and impartiality of the Pythia, and yet on more than one occasion she was found to have been bribed and



was deprived of her office [5, 63, 90; 6, 66]. There was originally only one Pythia, but in the most flourishing time of the Oracle it was found necessary to have three.

SAKAE, the, cc. 31, 71.

A people who lived on the steppes of what is now called Kirghiz Khosacks in Tibet.

SALAMIS, cc. 3, 4, 19.

An island about 10 miles long off the coast of Attica, between which and the mainland the channel at its narrowest is about 1 mile across. It had belonged to Athens since about B.C. 600, when, according to the common statement, the claim of the Athenians as against the Megarians was confirmed by five Spartan arbitrators owing to the skilful pleading of Solon [Plutarch, *Solon*, c. 10].

SARDIS, c. 3.

The capital of the Lydian kingdom. When Kyros annexed Lydia, Sardis became the seat of the Persian government for Asia Minor, and the great king himself at times resided there. It was on the northern slope of Mt Tmolos which stretches down to the broad plains of the valley of the R. Hermus. The city, which was built on either bank of the Pactōlos, a tributary of the Hermos, was not itself strongly defended, but its citadel was very strongly situated and all but impregnable.

SIKYONIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.

The inhabitants of Sikyon, a town and district usually classed as part of Korinthia, though it was independent of Korinth. It lay in the valley of the Peloponnesian river Asopos. It had formerly been governed by tyranni, of whom we hear of Kleisthenes, the maternal grandfather of the Athenian reformer [5, 67]. The inhabitants were Dorians and were accustomed to act in war under the direction of Sparta [6, 92]; they appear from the same passage to have been wealthy, for they submitted to pay Argos a war indemnity of 500 talents (about £24,000) for joining Kleomenes in his invasion of Argos about B.C. 510.

SKOLOS, c. 15.

A place on the south bank of the Asopos five miles to the right of the spot where the road from Plataea to Thebes crosses the river. Xenophon (*Hell.* v. 4, 49) speaks of it as a fortified place τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταῦρωμα, adding καὶ τάφρους [Ages. 2, 22]. The town lay on so rugged and difficult a position as to give rise to a proverb—εἰς Σκῶλον μὴτ' αὐτὸς ἵναι, μὴτ' ἄλλω ἐπεσθαι—'To Skolos go not of your accord or at another's beck' [Strabo 9, 2, 23]. It was in ruins, with an unfinished temple of Demeter, in the second century A.D. [Paus. 9, 4, 3].

SOPHANES, cc. 73—5.

An Athenian of the deme Dekelea, who on a former occasion had slain in single combat the Argive athlete Eurybates (q.v.).

SPARTA, cc. 53, 73. SPARTAN, a, c. 35. SPARTANS, the, cc. 9—10, 26, 28, 47—8, 54—6, 60, 63—4.

The town of Sparta differed from other important towns in Greece in having no fortifications or walls. The passes which led down from the north into the valley of the Eurotas were sufficiently difficult to admit of adequate defence, and the citizens being all trained soldiers, always ready for service, no defences were thought necessary. The town itself was a rather loose combination of a number of hamlets located at various distances down the valley; and though the central part, containing the agora and public buildings, was fairly rich in temples, monuments, and other constructions in the time of Pausanias (second century A.D.), yet Thucydides remarked that in his time such buildings were so few and insignificant, compared with those of Athens, that if ever Sparta was deserted the meanness of her remains would be thought to refute the history of her greatness [Thucyd. i, 10]. The Spartans properly so called were only those who possessed full citizenship. They were the descendants of the conquering Dorians who had seized the land and reduced the population either to the state of unenfranchised farmers (Perioeki) or praedial slaves (Helots). They were comparatively few in number [about 8000 at this period, 7, 234], and their peculiar institutions tended to check any increase. They were looked upon as the head of the Dorians, and the natural leader of all Greece in the field; they actually ruled two thirds of the Peloponnese, and exercised an informal hegemony in the rest, except in Argos. Of Argos most of the cities joined the chief state in the hostility to Sparta which had originated, perhaps, in disputes about frontiers and especially as to the possession of Kynuria, and had more recently been embittered by the cruelties of Kleomenes [B.C. 510]. We must distinguish between 'Lakedaemonians' and 'Spartans', the former Her. generally uses as including all the inhabitants of Lakonia; the latter term refers simply to the ruling class as full citizens. So in c. 28, 'Ten thousand *Lakedaemonian* troops were on the right wing, five thousand of whom were *Spartans*'.

SPHENDALE or -ES, c. 15.

Sphendale is said by Hesychios to be a deme of Attica, and by Stephanos Byz. to have been of the tribe of Hippothoontes [see also C. I. G. 2155]. It must have been on the frontier of Boeotia, for the Boeotian guides would hardly have come far into Attica. Probably it was at the point where Mardonius crossed the Asopos. If he had followed the regular road from Dekelea to Boeotia, that namely by Oropos, he would not have wanted guides.

## STENYKLEROS, c. 64.

A town and plain among the mountains on the north-east of Messenia. It was established as the seat of government by the Dorian conquerors of Messenia instead of Andania [Paus. 4, 3, 7]. The later capital, Messene, was not built until B.C. 369, by Epaminondas. The plain of Stenykleros had been before the scene of war between Sparta and Messenia, especially at a spot called the 'Boar's Grave' (κάπρον σῆμα) in the second Messenian war. The war which Herodotos is alluding to here is that which followed the earthquake and revolt of the Helots B.C. 464. See *Messenians*.

## TANAGRA, cc. 15, 35, 43.

A town in Boeotia on the left or north bank of the Asopos. It stood on a round hill commanding the road from Oropos to Thebes, and was accordingly on several occasions the scene of a battle between Athenians and Boeotians in B.C. 456 and 426, and between the Spartans when occupying Boeotia and the Athenians in B.C. 457.

## TEASPIS, c. 76.

A Persian, father of Pharandates (q.v.).

## TEGEA, cc. 27—8, 35, 37.

## TEGEANS, the, 26, 31, 35, 54, 56, 61—2, 70, 85.

Tegea stood in a plain surrounded by mountains in the south-eastern corner of Arkadia, 10 miles south of Mantinea, through both which towns the road from the north to Sparta passed. It was a very ancient town, being mentioned with Mantinea in Homer [*Iliad* 2, 607]. It long resisted Sparta [1, 65], but at length about B.C. 500 submitted, and from that time remained in close alliance with it, though retaining its autonomy.

## THEBAID, the, c. 65. THEBANS, the, cc. 2, 15, 31, 40—1, 67.

## THEBES, cc. 13, 16—7, 27, 38, 58, 67, 87—8.

Thebes subsequent to the Homeric age became the most powerful city in Boeotia, that position being occupied in the Homeric times by Orchomenos. The district of Thebes, the Thebais, was divided from that of Plataea by the river Asopos. The town was built on an elevation of 150 feet above the plain on a spur of Mount Teumessos. The citadel, or Kadmeia, probably stood at the southern end of the town. The plain of Thebes in the valley of the Asopos was a rich corn land. The Thebans were believed to be a colony from Phoenikia led by Kadmos. Perhaps this difference of blood may partly account for their zealous medizing; but a long standing enmity to Athens was the immediate motive. They sent 400 men indeed to support Leonidas at Thermopylae, but these men took the earliest opportunity of deserting to the Persian side [7. 203, 233].



## THERMŌDON.

(1) c. 27. A river of Pontus, mod. *Thermeh*, which flows northward into the Euxine at the town of Themiskyra, about 100 miles E. of Sinope. The Amazons or female warriors were said to have come from this country. *Et tu feminea, Thermodon, cognite turmae*, Ovid, *Pont.* 4, 10, 15.

(2) c. 43. A small river or torrent in Boeotia identified by Col. Leake with the *Platanaki* which flows from Mt Hypatos into the Euripus; while Rawlinson believes that by it is meant a winter torrent (of which there are several) flowing down the S. slope of Hypatos into the Asopos. The description of Pausanias of the objects on the road from Thebes to Chalkis seems to favour the latter view [9, 19, 3].

## THERMOPYLAE, cc. 71, 78—9.

The scene of the famous resistance and death of Leonidas was a narrow pass between the extremity of Mt Oeta and the sea. The range of Oeta stretches right across Greece, and the passes were few and difficult. It was necessary that so large an army as that of Xerxes should go by this as the shortest and easiest. The narrowest point was that between two mountain streams, the Asopos and Phoenix, which now flow into the Spercheios, but then flowed into the sea: 'There there was only a narrow causeway sufficient for a single carriage' [7, 199]. Its name was given it on account of some hot sulphur springs. The nature of the pass is now quite altered, the sea has receded, the Spercheios has brought down so much alluvial deposit that its course is changed, and there is now a broad marshy plain covered by rice-fields between the mountain and the sea.

## THERSANDER, c. 16.

A man of rank, of Orchomenos (q.v.), with whom Herodotos was personally acquainted. He was no doubt serving in the army of Mardonius: for Orchomenos had shared the fate of the other Boeotian towns; it had, that is, been occupied by a Makedonian garrison in the interest of the king of Persia [8, 34].

## THESEUS, c. 73.

The national Hero of Athens, son of Aegeus and Aethra. To him were attributed (1) the clearing of the road through the Isthmus from robbers, (2) the deliverance of Athens from the tax to the Minotaur of Krete, (3) the amalgamation of the 12 Cantons of Attica into one government with Athens as capital, (4) the first constitutional division of the inhabitants, that namely into Eupatridae, Demiurgi, Gemori. He was also believed to have established a form of limited monarchy. Thus the Athenians regarded him as in a true sense their founder. He was said to have been at last forced to retire from Athens and to have been murdered in Skyros, from

which Island his bones were brought to Athens in B.C. 469, and the Temple known as the Theseum was built over them.

THESPIANS, the, c. 30.

The inhabitants of Thespieae, a town of Boeotia about six miles W. of Thebes, which possessed a harbour at Kreusis in the Korinthian gulf. It had suffered much the year before, the Persians having burnt the town [8, 50]. The Thespians had been as loyal as Plataea to the Greek side, partly no doubt from enmity to Thebes. At Thermopylae their six hundred were the only ones who refused to quit Leonidas in his extremity, and all perished with him [7, 222, 226].

THESSALIANS, the, cc. 17, 31, 46, 89. 'THESSALY', cc. 77, 89.

Thessaly is the province between Makedonia on the N., Epiros on the W., and Phthiotis on the S. It is a great alluvial plain surrounded by mountains, and drained by one river system, that of the Peneus and its tributaries. This district was exceedingly rich and fertile, and particularly famous for its breed of horses, and accordingly Thessalian cavalry were the most renowned in all Greece. There were several leagues or combinations of towns in Thessaly, the most powerful being that of which the centre was Larissa (q. v.); but there was no one central government. The Thessalians had joined Xerxes under compulsion [7, 172-4], except in the case of the Aleuadae [7, 6], and as we see in c. 89 were ready to turn against them at the first sign of failure.

THORAX, cc. 1, 58.

The head of the royal family of Larissa, the Aleuadae (q.v.). He and his brothers are called 'kings' [7, 6] and appear to have held a joint sovereignty.

THRACE, c. 89. THRACIANS, the, c. 89.

The district N. of Makedonia, and bordering on the Euxine, was called Thrace, without originally any clear definition of a border to the north, though in the Roman period it was divided from Moesia on the N. by Mt Haemos; and Herodotos considers it to be separated from Skythia by the Danube. The Thracians were divided into many tribes, of which Herodotos in various places names 18, while Strabo calculated 22. 'The Thracians', says Herodotos, 'are the most powerful people in the world except of course the Indians; and if they had one head, and would cooperate, I believe that their match could not be found anywhere' [3, 3]. The Thracians had been subdued by Darius [4, 93] and Megabazus [5, 2], were serving with Xerxes [7, 185], but were not at all to be relied upon in case of his failure, and some of their chieftains still refused to submit to him [8, 115-6].

THRASIDEIOS, c. 58.

A prince of Larissa in Thessaly, brother of Thorax (q.v.).

**THREE HEADS, the, c. 39.**

The name given by the Boeotians to the pass over Mt Kithaeron which the Athenians called Dryoskephalae (Oak Heads), q.v.

**THRIASIAN PLAIN, the, c. 7.**

The Thriasian plain skirted the bay of Eleusis, was divided from Athens by the hills of Aegaleos, and was bounded on the north by Mt Parnes. Through it, close to the coast, went the Sacred Way to Eleusis. The greatest length of the plain is nine miles. It was in parts so low and marshy that the Sacred Way had to be raised like a causeway, while the northern and western part of the plain was stony and barren. Its name was derived from a hamlet close to Eleusis, but of which the exact position is not known.

**TIMANDER, c. 69.**

Father of Asopodoros (q.v.), a Theban commander.

**TIMOGENIDES, cc. 38, 86—7.**

A Theban, son of Herpys, a leader of the medizing faction.

**TIRYNTHIANS, the, cc. 28, 31.**

The inhabitants of Tiryns, a strongly fortified town on an isolated hill a few miles to SE. of Argos. Like Mykenae (q.v.) it was acting against the wishes of the Argives in furnishing a contingent to the Greek army, and was in a similar way after the Persian war punished by the removal of its inhabitants to Argos. Remains of the Cyclopiian walls still exist, and by recent excavations Dr Schliemann has unearthed the remains of a house which some believe to belong to the heroic age, others to be a house of post-classical times in which ancient materials have been used.

**TISAMENOS, cc. 33, 35—6.**

An Elean *Mantis* or soothsayer, son of Antiochos of the Mantic family of the Klytiadae (q.v.). When, in consequence of his mistaken interpretation of the Oracle, he trained for the Pentathlon at the Olympic games he was beaten in wrestling by an Andrian named Hieronymos (q.v.).

**TITAKOS, c. 73.**

A man of Aphidnae (q.v.) who was said to have guided the Tyn-  
daridae to the hiding place of Helen in that town.

**TROEZENIANS, the, cc. 28—31.**

The inhabitants of Troezen, a town in the SE. corner of Argolis. It was a very ancient town and had long been in alliance with Athens: and when the Athenians quitted their town before the battle of Salamis a large number of the women, children and old men were received at Troezen and honourably entertained, a



daily allowance being voted from the treasury, and free leave being given to the children to pluck fruit [Plut. *Them.* 10]; for though occupied by Dorians it had a large admixture of Ionians who had come from Karia, and it was connected with Athens by belonging in former times to the same Amphictyony. Troezen was the mother-town of Herodotos' native place, Halicarnassos.

#### TROJAN WAR, the, c. 27.

The siege of Troy by the Greeks, in revenge for the carrying off of Helen, the wife of Menelaos of Sparta, by Paris, was regarded as an historical fact by all Greeks, nor had it as yet occurred to any to doubt the poems of Homer as containing real history.

#### TYNDARIDAE, c. 73.

The twin sons of Leda and Zeus, Kastor and Pollux, and therefore the half-brothers of Klytemnestra and Helen.

#### XERXES, cc. 1, 32, 78, 82.

Though a younger son of Darius, he yet succeeded to the crown, because his mother Atossa was a daughter of the great Kyros, and the Persians only submitted to have a Mede like Darius as king, on the condition that, by his marrying a daughter of Kyros, the royal line should be traced to the great Persian conqueror [7, 3-4]. Xerxes had retired to Sardis after the battle of Salamis, and was residing there at this time. He died B.C. 465.

#### ZAKYNTHOS, c. 37.

An island 8 miles from the W. coast of the Peloponnese, and immediately S. of Kephallenia. It is about 23 miles long, and was celebrated for its fertility. Its chief town was a colony of Achaeans. Hegesistratos fled there for safety from Sparta, because as being Achaeans the Zakynthians were hostile to Sparta and would protect its enemy.

#### ZEUS, c. 81. ZEUS HELLENIUS, c. 7.

Zeus, son of Kronos, father of gods and men, is the acknowledged chief of the Olympian deities. He is not absolute, for he cannot alter fate, but he is the president of the divine council, and pronounces finally on all matters. He is the author and controller of all the natural phenomena—rain, snow and thunder; and the other gods are his agents and mouthpieces. Greek theology, however, admitted of apparently limiting epithets according to the connexion in which he was addressed or conceived, as, Zeus Xenios 'god of hospitable rights', Zeus prostropaïos 'god of the rights of suppliants'. So Zeus Hellenius means 'god of the whole Greek race', to whom all Hellenes alike look and in whom all are united. To 'reverence Zeus Hellenius' therefore is to take a patriotic interest and care for Panhellenism as against all the rest of the world.

## APPENDIX.

### THE IONIC DIALECT.

THE dialect in which Herodotos wrote is called the New Ionic, that is, the language of the Ionic cities of Asia Minor in the fifth century B.C., and those islands of the Aegean colonised by Ionians. By the 'Old Ionic' is meant the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (though it seems probable that the foundation of the language of these poems was Achæan or Aeolic, and that they were Ionicised subsequently), the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod. The oldest Greek literature therefore known to us was written in various developments of the Ionic dialect. The Attic, such as we find it in Thucydides and the Tragedians, is a still later development; but as the Athenian literature (from about B.C. 450 onwards) is best known to us, and has survived in much larger quantity than any other, we for convenience compare the forms of the Ionic dialect with those of the Attic as a standard, although in most cases the Ionic forms are the older. Herodotos [b. B.C. 484], a contemporary of Sophocles, lived just at the parting of the ways when the Attic literature was beginning to supplant all others, yet he deliberately adopted the Ionic dialect as still the best for prose composition, though he was by birth a Dorian. He was, then, writing in an acquired dialect, and was moreover a wanderer and scholar who had conversed with men of all dialects, and studied their writings; it was likely therefore that his style should show signs of modification in word-forms, as well as in idiom, from the standard Ionic; but still the Ionic as we find it in his writings shows decisively how it had developed, sometimes less, and sometimes in a different way, than the other dialects.

Many words are used by him in a sense different from that in which Attic writers of his own time would have used

them, but yet in the same sense in which they are used in Homer; or again, words which had become obsolete, or used only by poets in Athens, are still employed by him in their primitive sense as the natural and prosaic terms. The same phenomenon may be seen in our own and other languages. A Yorkshireman, or an Eastern Counties man, may often be heard using words that are almost or entirely unknown to the Londoner, but which were the ordinary terms in use in the days of Chaucer or even of Shakespear. Even with a printed literature, then, men of the same stock, if divided by place and circumstance, will develop the same language in widely different ways. Take for example the many idioms used by Americans differing from our usage in England, yet of which we may often find the counterpart in our older writers. What was likely then to be the case between two and three thousand years ago, with means of intercourse infinitely less efficacious, and a literature often not written at all, and of course when written infinitely confined in circulation? They did what was natural: each community gradually adopted peculiar terms and idioms; sometimes one retained a more archaic form than another, sometimes the same community would diverge much more than the other from the primitive form. They did not always alter in the same way, and no one division of the Hellenic race could claim a monopoly of archaic forms or a distinct supremacy in primitive correctness. The laws which such phonetic changes follow help us to track the original form through the maze of divergent modification, but they cannot always tell us why one set of people modified less or more than another, or in this way or that. The most marked features of the Ionic as compared with the Attic dialect are (1) that the contraction of two vowels is generally resolved into its component vowels, (2) that the  $\eta$  sound (Etacism) is generally preferred to the  $\alpha$ , though the reverse change is not infrequent.

The following is a conspectus of the variations of the Ionic dialect of Herodotos from the Attic<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Taken with modifications and additions from that of Dr K. Abicht, *Uebersicht über den Herodotischen Dialect*. Leipzig, 1869.



## A. LETTERS.

## I. CONSONANTS.

(1) In three words the tenuis takes the place of the aspirated consonant, *δέκομαι, αὔτις, οὐκί* (Att. *δέχομαι, αὐτις, οὐχί*).

(2) In three words the positions of the aspirate and tenuis are reversed, *ἐνθαῦτα, ἐνθεῦτεν, κιθών* (Att. *ἐνταῦθα, ἐντεῦθεν, χιτών*).

(3) *κ* is found in the place of *π* in the interrogative pronouns and adverbs, *κοῖος, κόσος, κότερος, κῆ, κοῖ, κοῦ, κῶς, κότεν, κότε* [Att. *ποῖος, πόσος* etc.]; in the relatives, *όκοῖο, όκόσος, όκότερος* [Att. *όποῖος* etc.]; and in the adverbs *οὔκοτε, οὔδέκοτε, οὔκω* [Att. *οὔποτε* etc.].

(4) The prepositions *ἀντί, ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό*, neither in elision nor composition, take the aspirated consonant before an aspirate, e.g. *ἀπ' οὔ, μετ' ᾧ, κατά [= καθ' ᾧ], κατ' ἑνα, ὑπιστάναι, ἀπικνέομαι, ὑπὶήμι, μετέντες*. In the same way *οὐκ* does not become *οὐχ* before an aspirate.

(5) *σσ* is not changed into *ττ*, e.g. *θάλασσα, γλῶσσα, τάσσω, ἐλάσσων*, are the invariable forms in Ionic.

(6) *σσ* becomes *ξ*, e.g. *διξός, τριξός*.

## II. VOWELS.

(1) *a* (Attic) into *ε*, as *ἔρσην* 'male', *τέσσερες, ὀπέων* (*ὀπάων*).

(2) *ǎ* (Attic) into *η*, as *διπλήσιος, πολλαπλήσιος*.

(3) *ā* (Attic) into *η*,

(a) In root syllables, as *ῥηϊδίως, ἡήρ, κρήτηρ, νηός, τριήκοντα, πρῆγμα, πέπρηγμα*.

(b) In derivatives, as *θέ-ητρον, νε-ηνίης, ἱρ-ηξ, Αἰγυνῆται, ἱ-ητρός, ἀνι-ηρός*.

(c) In compounds, as *γενεη-λογέω, διή-κονος*.

(d) In the adverbs *λάβρη, λίην, πέρην*.

(4) *ā* (Attic) into *ω*, as *παιωνίζω*, *θῶκος*.

(5) *ε* (Attic) into *ǣ*, as *τάμνω*, *τράπω* [but we find *τρέψω*, *ἔτρεψα*], *μέγαθος*.

(6) *ε* (Attic) into *ι*, as *ιστίη* (*ἑστία*), *ἐπίστιος* = *ἐφέστιος*.

(7) *η* (Attic) into *ǣ*, as *μεσαμβρίη*, *ἀμφισβατέω*, *πεντακόσιοι*.

(8) *η* (Attic) into *ω*, as *πτώσσω*.

(9) *ω* (Attic) into *η*, as *Φθιῆτις*, *Θεσσαλιῆτις*, *Ἰστιαιῆτις*, and the derivatives *Φθιήτης*, *Ἀμπρακιήτης* etc.

(10) *ο* into *α* as *ἄρρωδέω* [Att. *ὀρρωδέω*].

### III. DIPHTHONGS.

(1) *α* into *αι*, as *αἰετός*, *αἰεί*.

(2) *αν* into *ω*, as *θῶμα* [but *θῶυμα*, *θωνμάζω*, also see I, 11], *τρῶμα*.

(3) *ε* into *ει*, as *εἶρομαι*, *εἶρωτέω*, *εἰρύω*, *εἰλίσσω*, *εἵνατος*, *εἵνακόσιοι*, *εἵνεκεν*, *κεῖνός*, *ξείνος*, *στεινός*.

(4) *ει* into *ε*, as *ἔς*, *ἔσω*, *μέζων*, *κρέσσων*, *πλέων*, fem. of adj. in *-us* as *βαθέα*, *ὀξέα*, and in the tenses of *δείκνυμι*, as *δέξω*, *ἔδεξα*, *δέξαι*, *ἐδέχθη*, *ἐδέδεκτο*, also *ἔργω*, *ἔωθα*, and in all proparoxytons in *-εῖος*, *-εῖα*, *-εῖον*, as *ἐπιτήδεος*<sup>2</sup>, *ἐπέτεος*.

(5) *ει* into *ι*, as *ἵκελος*, *προσῖκελος*, *ἴλη*.

(6) *ευ* into *ι*, as *ιθύς*, *ιθέα*, *ιθύ*, *ιθύνω* [Att. *εὐθύς*].

(7) *ο* into *ου*, as *μῶνος*, *νοῦσος*, *νουσέω*, *Οὔλυμπος*, *οὔνομα*, *οὔνομάζω*, *ὁ οὔρος* (*ὄρος* a boundary), *τὸ οὔρος* (*τὸ ὄρος*), *ὁ οὐδός* (threshold), but *ἡ ὁδός* (way): in trisyllable forms *γούνατα*, *δούρατα*, from *γόνυ*, *δόρυ*.

(8) *ου* into *ω*, as *ῶν* (*οῦν*), *τοιγαρῶν*, *οὔκων*, *γῶν* (*γοῦν*).

<sup>2</sup> Still the comp. and superl. of *ἐπιτήδεος* seem to be in *-ότερος*, *-ότατος* as though the word were *ἐπιτήδειος*.

## B. SYLLABLES.

## (1) Solution and Contraction.

(a) ου into οε, as ἀγαθοέργος, δημοέργος.

(b) οη into ω, as ὀγδώκοντα, and in the following forms of βοᾶν and νοεῖν,—βῶσαι, βώσασθαι, ἔβωσε, ἐβώσθην, ἐννώσας, ἐννενώκασι, ἐννένωντο, νενωμένος, ἐπενώθη, also βωθέω (βοηθέω).

## (2) Diaeresis.

(a) ει into ηῖ, (1) in substantives in -ειᾱ as βασιληῖη = regnum [but βασιλεια = regina], ἐπιστρατηῖη; (2) in subst. in -ειον, as χαλκήϊον, ἀριστήϊον [the forms προάστειον and προαστήϊον are both found, see I, 78; 3, 142]; (3) adjct. in -εῖος, as οἰκήϊον, βασιλῆϊος<sup>3</sup>.

(b) η into ηῖ, as δηϊόω, κληῖς, χρηίζω, Θρηῖκή.

(c) ω into ωῖ, as πατρῷος, πρωῒ [except ζῶον, ῥόν, Τρωάς, Κῶος, Ἀχελῷος].

## (3) Elision.

(a) ν ἐφελκυστικόν is not used in the Ionic of Herodotos<sup>4</sup>. οὔτω does not become οὔτως before a vowel (9, 82).

(b) Elision (comparatively rare) takes place in (1) the prepositions ἀμφί, ἀνά, ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό; (2) in most cases where ἄμα stands before a vowel; (3) most frequently in ἀλλά, δέ; (4) often in μηδέ, οὔδέ, τε, γε.

## (4) Crasis.

(a) Like Attic, τᾶλλα, ταῦτά, τὰγάλματα, τὰνθρώπου, τᾶλήθεος.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptions are the proper names Δαρεῖος, Ἀργεῖος, Ἥλειος, Καδμείος.

<sup>4</sup> In some MSS. however, the ν ἐφελκυστικόν is used throughout. It appears also in the oldest MS. of the treatise written by Lucian in imitation of the dialect and style of Herodotos. In the oldest Ionic we possess, that of the Iliad, it of course frequently occurs.



(b) ο, οι, and ω with α, ὄνῃρ, ὄνθρωπος, ὄνθρωποι, οὐ-  
τερος, τοῦτερον, τᾶτερα, ὄλλοι, τῶρχαῖον, τῶληθές, τῶπό, ὄνθρωπε,  
ᾠναξ.

(c) In the reflexive pronouns ἑαυτοῦ, ἐμαυτοῦ, σεαυτοῦ,  
which in Ionic would be εἰο αὐτοῦ, ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, we  
have ἑωντοῦ, ἐμεωντοῦ, σεωντοῦ. From ὁ αὐτός, ὧντός, ὧντοί,  
τῶντού.

(d) Four with καί, καλὸς κάγαθός, κακείθε, κακείνος,  
κάμοί (as in Attic).

### C. DECLENSION.

[The dual forms are not used in Herodotos.]

#### I. SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES.

##### *First Declension.*

(1) The gen. plur. ends in -εων, as γνωμέων, τιμέων,  
γενεέων (γενεή), πασέων, μελαιnéων, αὐτέων (f.) [but we must ex-  
cept from this rule adjectives, pronouns and participles in  
-ος, -η, -ον which have their gen. plur. fem. paroxyton, as  
ἄλλων, φίλων, ἐκείνων, ἀλίσκομένων, τούτων].

(2) Dat. pl., universally in -ησι or ῆσι, as γνώμησι, αὐτῇσι.

(3)  $\bar{a}$  in all cases of the sing. becomes -η as χώρη,  
-ης, -η: ἰσχυρή, -ῆς, -ῆ. The  $\check{a}$  is retained in nom. and acc.  
but becomes η in gen. and dat. as

ἀλήθεια, -ᾶ, -ης, -η  
μοῖρα, -ᾶν, -ης, -η  
μία, -ᾶν, -ῆς, -ῆ.

(4) Words in -ης make the gen. sing. in -εω and are  
proparoxyton, as

πολιότης	}	sing.
— ῆτην		
— ῆτεω		
— ῆτη	}	plur.
— ῆτας		
— ῆτέων		
— ῆτησι		

Like this are declined proper names Μίδης, Λεωνίδης, Πέρσης, Ξέρξης<sup>δ</sup>: also δεσπότης, except that the acc. δεσπότεα occurs I, II; 91.

(5) Words that in Attic are contracted are written in the uncontracted form in Herodotos, as μνᾶ, συκῆ, in Herodotos

[μνᾶ]	συκῆ
μνᾶι	-έης
μνέων	-έην
μνέας	συκέαι
	συκέων

χρυσέος, -έη, -έον
— -έον, -έην, -έον
— -έου, -έης, -έου
— -έω, -έη, -έω

### Second Declension.

(1) The only peculiarity in case-ending is the dat. plur., which always ends in -οισι or -οῖσι, as λόγοισι, θεοῖσι, καλοῖσι.

(2) Words in -οος, -οη, -οον or -εος, -εη, -εον are not contracted, as πλόος, ἀπλόος, -όη, -όον, ὀστέον, χρύσεος, -έη, -εον.

(3) The so-called 'Attic Declension' in -ως is confined to proper names in Herodotos, as Ἀρκεσίλεως, Μενέλεως (from λεώς), as also Μίνως, Ἄθως, Ἀμφιάρεως. Instead of λεώς, νεώς, κάλως, λαγώς Herod. uses ληός, νηός, κάλος, λαγός. So also instead of πλέως, ἱλεως, ἀξιόχρεως Herod. uses πλέος, -η, -ον, ἱλεος, -ον, ἀξιόχρεος, -ον. Thus too the words compounded of γῆ, as βαθύγεως, μελάγγεως, μεσόγεως, ὑπόγεως, are represented in Herod. by βαθύγαιος, μελάγγαιος, μεσόγαιος, ὑπόγαιος.

(4) Herod. generally uses πολλός, -ή, -όν, though he also uses the commoner πολύς, πολλή, πολύ.

<sup>δ</sup> But the accusative Ξέρξεα in 8, 69; 9, 1 is supported by some good MSS., as also Λυκίδεα in 9, 5.

*Third Declension.*

(1) In the uncontracted and imparisyllabic words the forms used by Herod. are the same as those used by Attic writers.

(2) The contracted declensions are declined as follows :

βασιλείς	πόλις	νηϋς
-λέος	πόλιος	νεός
-λέϊ	πόλι	νηϊ
-λέα	πόλιν	νέα
-λεϋ		
-λέες	πόλιες	νέες
-λέων	πολίων	νέων
-λεϋσι	πόλισι	νηυσί
-λέας	πόλις	νέας

Like πόλις are declined ὕβρις, ὄψις, φύσις, κρίσις, πίστις, παίδευσις, κατάστασις, χῆτις, etc., and the proper names Τόμυρις, Μοῖρις, Σμέρδις, Σαῖς, Ἄπις, Ἀμασις, Δάτις, Μέμφις, Θέτις, Πάρις, Ἴσις and the plural Σάρδιες, -ίων, -ισι, -ιας.

But	Ἄρτεμις, -ιδος, -ιδα
	ἔρις, -ιδος, -ιν
	χάρις, -ιτος, -ιν

(3) Neuters in -ος, substantives and adjectives in -ης, subst. in -υς and -υ, and adjectives in -υς resolve all contractions :

γένος	Ἄστυάγης	ἀληθής -ές
γένεος	-γεος	ἀληθέος
γένεϊ	-γεϊ	ἀληθεϊ
γένεα	-γεα	ἀληθέα -ές
γενέων		ἀληθέες -έα
γένεσι		ἀληθέων
		ἀληθέσι
		ἀληθέας -έα



Proper names contracted to -κλήs are thus declined :

Θεμιστοκλήs VOC. -κλēs

-κλέος

-κλέϊ

-κλέα

Thus Περικλήs and Ἡρακλήs.

(4) Substantives in -ωs and -ω, such as αἰδώς, ἦώς, εὐεστώ, πειθώ, are declined as in Attic, except that some proper names as Ἴω, Λητώ make the accus. sing. in -οῦν.

(5) Neuters in -as, as γέρας, κέραs, τέρας, have their genitives and datives sing. and plur., and acc. plur., in -εος, -εῖ, -εων, -εσι, -εα [not -aos, etc.] with the single exception of γήρας, -aos, -αῖ.

## II. PRONOUNS.

(1) Personal Pronouns [ἐγώ, σύ, ἐ].

(a) Herod. uses the uncontracted forms of the gen. sing. ἐμέο, σέο, ἔο, and rarely ἐμεῦ, σεῦ, εὔ.

(b) Dat. σοί, but in enclisis τοι.

(c) For the dat. m. and f. αὐτῷ, -ῇ Herod. uses οἰ. Acc. μιν=αὐτόν, -ήν and ἐαυτόν, -ήν, and also for αὐτό.

(d) The nom. and dat. plur. of the three personal pronouns are the same as in Attic. The third person plural is

N. σφεῖs,

A. σφέας,

G. σφέων,

D. σφίσι, σφι

but σφίσι and σφι differ in usage; σφι (enclitic)=αὐτοῖs or αὐταῖs, σφέας=αὐτούs, -ás, but σφίσι=ἐαυτοῖs or ἐαυταῖs.

The gen. and acc. plur. are not contracted

ἡμέων

ὑμέων

σφέων (σφεων)

ἡμέας

ὑμέας

σφέας (σφεας)

Herodotos also uses σφε as acc. 3rd pers. of all genders and numbers, and σφέα=αὐτά (n. pl.).

## (2) Relative Pronouns.

(a) *ὅς, ὅσπερ*, in nom. sing. and plur.

*ὅς, ἧ, τό*  
*οἷ, αἷ, τά*

but in oblique cases the consonantal form is used, as

G. *τοῦ, τῆς, τοῦ*  
*τῶν, τῶν, τῶν*, etc.

Note 1. Of the prepositions not admitting of elision *ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, περί, πρό, πρόσ, σύν, ὑπέρ*,

*πρό* and *ὑπέρ* seldom occur with simple relative.

*περί* usually follows its case, as *τῆς πέρι*.

*ἐν, ἐκ, ἐς, πρόσ, σύν*, take the consonantal form, as *ἐν τῷ, σύν τοῖσι* etc. Except where *ἐν, ἐξ, ἐς* form with the relative an expression of time, as

*ἐν ᾧ*=*quo tempore*  
*ἐς δ*=*usque ad id tempus*  
*ἐξ οὗ*=*ex quo tempore*.

So also *ἄχρι οὔ, μέχρι οὔ*.

Note 2. On the other hand the prepositions which admit of elision—*ἀντί, ἀπό, διά, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, παρά, ὑπό*—take only the aspirated form of the relative, *δι' ἧς, ἐπ' ᾧ* etc., except when they follow their case, as, *τῷ πάρα* [but *παρ' ᾧ*].

(b) *ὅστις, ὃ τι* do not take the consonantal form. In place of the Attic *ὅτου, ὅτω, ὅτοις* Herod. uses *ὅτεν, ὅτέω, ὀτέοισι*, and for *ἅτινα* he has *ἄσσα* (not *ἄττα*).

(c) Interrogative and indefinite Pronoun *τις*

<i>τίς</i>	<i>τίνες</i>
<i>τέο (τεῦ)</i>	<i>τέων</i>
<i>τέω</i>	<i>τέοισι</i>
<i>τίνα</i>	<i>τίνας</i>

## D. CONJUGATION.

## I. The Augment.

The usage of Herodotos with regard to the temporal and syllabic augments is the same as in Attic<sup>6</sup> with the following exceptions:

(a) The temporal augment is omitted in purely Ionic forms, such as, ἀγινέω (ἄγω), ἀμείβομαι, ἀναισιμόω, ἀρρωδέω, ἀρτέομαι (ἀρτάω), ἐσσόω (ἤσσάω), ὀρτάζω (ἐορτάζω), οὐρίζω [but ὠνόμασται 9, 32, though the Ionic form οὐνομάζω is given in some MSS.; in 9, 44 however they all have ὀνομάζω], ἔργω (εἶργω)<sup>7</sup>.

(b) Also in the poetical verbs, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυκτάζω, ἐλινύω.

(c) Also in all verbs beginning with the diphthongs αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι, as, αἰδέομαι, αἰνέω, αἰρέω, αἰτέω, αὔξω, εἰρωτέω, εὔδω, εὐτυχέω, εὐρίσκω, οἰκέω, ἀνοίγω, οἶχομαι.

(d) Also in the verbs ἐάω, ἐργάζομαι, ἔωθα [pluperf. ἐώθεα], while on the other hand the augmented forms ἦσαν, εἶχον, ἦλθον, ἦλασα are always found.

(e) In cases of double augment the syllabic is omitted as ὤρεον [Att. ἑώρων].

(f) Neither temporal nor syllabic augment occurs in verbs with frequentative termination, as ἄγεσκον, ποιέεσκον, βαλεσκόμην.

II. Change of ν into α, when -ται or -το comes immediately after the stem.

(a) In the 3rd pers. plur. of perf. and pluperf. pass.: FIRST in impure forms, as ἀπίκατο, ἐτετάχατο, τετύφεται, ἀγωνί-  
δεται, ἐσκενάδεται, δεδέχεται, ἀπικάται, διεφθάρατο; in these

<sup>6</sup> The augment, as in Attic, is often omitted in the pluperf., as τετελευτήκεε, δέδοκτο, ἐνδεδύκεε, etc. And when πρὸ is compounded with an augmented word there is no contraction, as προέβαινε, προέβαλε (not προῦβαινε etc.).

<sup>7</sup> Under this head may come the fact that the MSS. seem to favour ὥρμηται (see 4, 16), but ὀρμέατο (1, 158; 9, 61).



forms the root consonant is aspirated except when it is  $\delta$ , and in the word ἀπικάται -ο; SECOND in pure roots, the preceding vowel being shortened, as ἡπιστέατο, ἡγάται, ἡρτέαται, οἰκέαται, κέαται, ὠρμέαται, βεβλέαται, ἀναπεπτέαται, ἀποκεκλέατο, ἐνεπιδεικνύατο, ἐκεκοσμέατο.

(b) In the 3rd pers. plur. pres. and imperf. pass. of verbs in -μι, as τιθέαται, ἐτιθέατο, ἰστέαται, δυνέαται, ἔαται, κατέατο, ἐκδιδύαται.

(c) In optative endings pres. or aor., as ἀγοίατο, βουλοίατο, γευσαίατο, τισαίατο, ἀνελοίατο.

### III. Resolution of Contractions:

(a) pluperf. -εα, -εας, -εε, -εσαν, as ἐώθεα, ἐώθεας, ἐώθεε, ἐώθεσαν, ἐληλύθεε, ἐόργεε.

(b) 2nd pers. indic. midd. and pass.

primary tenses -εαι, as οἴχαι, ἔσαι.

historic „ -εο, as ἐγένεο, ἐπείκεο.

So also the present imperat. midd., as ἔπεο, πείθεο, ἀπαλλάσσεο. But the 2nd pers. sing. of the subj. midd. is always contracted, as οἴχη, γένη, δέξη, ὑποθήκη. Also 2nd aor. infin. act., as μαθεῖν, ἐλθεῖν, σχεῖν.

(c)  $\omega$  resolved into -έω in the aorist subj. pass. of all verbs, in the 2nd aor. subj. of verbs in -μι or verbs formed on the analogy of verbs in -μι, as αἰρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, ἐξαναστέωμεν, προσθέω, θέωσι (ἔθην), βέω (ἔβην), but the 2nd and 3rd persons are contracted, as νικηθῆς, φανῇ, ἐκβῆ, θῆται.

(d) In verbs in -εω, -αω, -οω, the uncontracted forms are used:

(I) -εω, as

pr. καλέω	-έομαι	subj. καλέω	-έωμαι	opt. καλέοιμι	-εοίμην
καλέεις	-έη	καλέης	-έη	καλέοις	-έοιο
καλέει	-έεται	καλέη	-έηται	καλέοι	-έοιτο
imperat. κάλεε					

imperf. ἐκάλεον -εόμην

infin. καλέειν

ἐκάλεες -εο

part. καλέων

ἐκάλεε -έετο

part. mid. & p. καλεόμενος

Note 1. The only exception is *δεῖ*, *δεῖν*, the imperfect of which however is *ἔδεε*. In five verbs *ἀγνοέω*, *διανοόμαι*, *θηέομαι*, *νοέω*, *ποιέω*, in which the termination *-εω* or *-εομαι* is preceded by a vowel, *εο* or *εου* becomes *ευ*, as *ἀγνοεῖντες*, *ἐθθεῖντο* (*ἐθθηέοντο*), *θθεύμενοι*.

The imperfect of *θηέομαι* has the Attic contraction, as *ἐθθεῖτο* (1, 10).

*ποιέω* has *ευ* throughout, *ποιεῦσι*, *ποιεῖντες*, *ἐπολεν*<sup>8</sup>, *ποιεῦμαι*, *ποιεύμενος*, *ἐποιεύμην*, *ἐποιεῖντο*.

*εω* remains uncontracted, as *νοέων*, but *οη* becomes *ω*, as *νενωμένον*.

Note 2. This rule of resolving contractions applies also to liquid futures, as *ἐρέω*, *κερδανέεις*, *ὑπομενέουσι*, *κατακοντιέει*, *κομιέει*, *ἀτρεμείειν*, *κομῖται* (mid.), *χαριέεσθαι*, *ἀπολέοντες*, but when a vowel precedes *εο* or *εου* they become *ευ*, as *ἀνταγωνιεύμενος*, *κομιεύμεθα*, *ὀπωριεῖνται*, *ἐπιστιεύμενοι*<sup>9</sup>.

## (2) Verbs in *-αω*

(a) With exception of the disyllable verbs *κλάω*, *ψάω*, *σμάω* [also *ἔω*, *βιῶμαι*, *ἰῶμαι*] all contractions are resolved not into *-αω* *-αο* *-αου*, but into *-εω* *-εο* *-εου*, as *ὀρέω*, *ὀρέουσι*, *ὀρέων*, *ὀρέομαι*, *ὀρέόμενος*. On the other hand *-αι*, *-αε* become *-ᾱ* and *-α* as

*ὀρέω*, *ὀρᾱς*, *ὀρᾱ*  
*ὥρεον*, *ὥρᾱς*, *ὥρᾱ*

[though in 8, 36 the best MSS. have *ἀπώρων*].

(b) And as in verbs in *-εω*, when a vowel precedes *-εο* or *-εου* they become *ευ*, as *ἀνιεύνται*, *βοεῖντες*.

(c) The future of *ἐλαύνω* is *ἐλέω*, *ἐλέων*.

(d) *χράω*, *χράομαι*, contract in *α* [Attic *η*], as *χρέομαι*, *χρᾶται*, *χρᾶσθαι*, *χρεώμενος*<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> *ἐπολεν* 8, 64; 9, 25 etc., but also *ἐπολεον* 9, 8 and 11; *ποιέεο* 8, 68.

<sup>9</sup> In 9, 6 we have *ἀμυνεῖσι* for *ἀμυνέουσι* although *-εου* is not preceded by a vowel; cp. *βάλεν* for *βάλου* [*εο*] 8, 68; *δοκεῖντα* 9, 77.

<sup>10</sup> In 9, 24 as in 4, 151; 7, 34; 9, 41, etc. one MS. (P) gives *χρεόμενοι*, but the greater authority in all cases seems to be for *χρεώμενος*, while the best MSS. give *χρεόν* (not *χρεών*) as the neut. part.; see 9, 46 etc.

(e) But in tenses of verbs in -αω where the Attic has *ā*, the Ionic has *η*, as βιηθῆναι, βήσασθαι, πειρηθῆναι, πειρήσασθαι.

(3) Verbs in -οω.

The verbs in -οω are contracted as in Attic, except that when -οο or -οου are preceded by a vowel they become *ευ*, as ἀντιεύμενος, δικαιοῦσθαι, οἰκιεῦνται, ἀξιεύμεθα, ἐξομοιεύντες, δικαιοῦσι. Thus ἀξιόω is conjugated in Herodotos

Pres.	Imperf.
ἀξιῶ ἀξιεύμεν	ἡξίεν ἡξιεύμεν
ἀξιοῖς ἀξιούτε	ἡξίους ἡξιούτε
ἀξιοῖ ἀξιεύσι	ἡξίου ἡξίεν
Mid. Inf. ἀξιούσθαι	Part. Mid. ἀξιεύμενος
	Imperf. M.
	ἡξιεύμην
	ἡξιεύ
	ἡξιούτο
	ἡξιεύμεθα
	ἡξιούσθε
	ἡξιεύντο

Thus also, ἀντιεύνται, ἑτέροειντο, ἐδικαιοῦντο.

IV. Verbs in -μι.

- (a) τίθημι, τιθεῖς τιθεῖ...τιθεῖσι  
 ἵημι, ἰεῖς ἰεῖ...ἰεῖσι  
 like a verb in -εω.  
 ἵστημι, ἰστᾶς ἰστᾶ...ἰστᾶσι  
 like a verb in -αω.  
 δίδωμι, διδοῖς διδοῖ...διδούσι  
 like a verb in -οω.

Note 1. Perf. pass. part. of μετήμι, μεμετιμένος (Attic μεθειμένος).

Note 2. Imperf. ind. act. of τίθημι,

ἐτίθεα, ἐτίθεες, ἐτίθεε  
 ἐτίθημεν, ἐτίθετε, ἐτίθεσαν.



(b) ἴστημι.

The 2nd and 3rd pers. plur. perf. are ἴσταντε and ἴστανσι.  
Partic. perf. ἴσταντός.

(c) δείκνυμι.

The 3rd pers. plur. pres. indic. is δεικνύσι (Attic δεικνύασι).  
Pres. partic. δεικνύων. Imperf. indic. ἐδείκνυνον -ες -ε.

(d) εἰμί *sum*.

2nd pers. sing. εἶς [Attic εἶ]. 1st pers. plur. εἰμέν [Attic ἐσμέν]. 3rd p. plur. εἰσί [but ἔασι in an oracle I, 66].

Subjunct. ἔω. 3rd p. plur. ἔωσι.

Opt. εἶην. 3rd p. plur. εἶησαν (εἶεν)<sup>11</sup>.

Part. ἐὼν ἐούσα ἐόν.

Imperf. ἦν, ἦσθα, ἦ [ἔσκε I, 196; 6, 133, and ἦε I, 181, and ἔην 7, 143]. ἦσαν [ἔσκον 4, 129; I, 196].

Another form less frequent is

ἔα (2, 19), ἔας (I, 187),...ἔατε (5, 92).

(e) εἶμι *ibo*.

Imperf. indic. ἦια, ἦιε, ἦισαν [Att. ἦα, ἦε, ἦεσαν].

(f) οἶδα, οἶδας, οἶδε, ἴδμεν, ἴστε, οἶδασι.

For ἴδμεν is found οἶδαμεν [2, 17; 4, 46; 7, 214], συνοίδαμεν [9, 60].

Subj. εἰδέω. Opt. εἰδείην.

Pluperf. (= imperf.) ἦδεα, ἦδεε, ἦδέατε, ἦδεσαν.

## E.

(1) ὄς is often used for οὗτω.

(2) The following Ionic verb forms also are to be noted:

(a) 1st aor. for εἶπον

εἶπας, 9, 45,

εἶπαν, 9, 11,

ἀπειπάμεθα, 9, 7,

εἶπαι, 8, 68.

(b) From λαμβάνω

λάμψομαι, 9, 31,

<sup>11</sup> In 7, 6 we have ἐνέοι as though from ἐνέοιμι.

καταλαμφθέντες, 9, 58,

καταλελάβηκε, 9, 60,

ἀπολελαμμένοι, 9, 51.

(c) From φέρω

ἐσεννηεῖχθαι (ἐννηεῖγμαι), 9, 41,

ἐξεννηειγμένος, 9, 72,

ἐπενείκας, 8, 10,

ἀννηείκαντο, 8, 32.

(d) αἶρειν (ἀείρειν)

ἀερθέντες, 9, 52.

(e) δείκνυμι

fut. δέξω,

1st aor. ἔδεξα, δέξαι,

ἐδεξάμην, ἐδέχθην,

perf. pass. δέδεγμαι,

plup. pass. ἐδέδεκτο,

imper. pass. δεδέχθω, 8, 8.

(f) εἶκω

perf. οἶκα, 4, 82; part. οἰκώς, -ός, 8, 9.

(g) ἀξάμην, ἄξαντο [ἄγω], 8, 20.

(h) ἀναγνώσαι, 8, 57—8.

(3) Poetical words and expressions employed in these chapters :

ἀλεωρή (c. 6), ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο (c. 70), ἀτάσθαλα (c. 78), ἄτρυτον (c. 52), ἐν αἴνῃ εἶοντες (c. 13), ἐκπαγλούμενοι (c. 48), ἐνέστακτο (c. 1), κατεῖχε ἡχώ (c. 24), λιπαρίῃ (21, 70), μηνίω (c. 7 § 2), οὔζυρός (c. 82), ὅπισ (c. 76), τελευτήσαντες τὸν αἰῶνα (c. 27).

(4) Words not found elsewhere: ἀλυκτάζω (c. 70), ἀπεστῶ (c. 85), λεωσφέτερον (c. 33), συγκεκυρημένος (c. 37), τροχάζω (c. 66). περιημέκτεε (c. 41) only in Herod.

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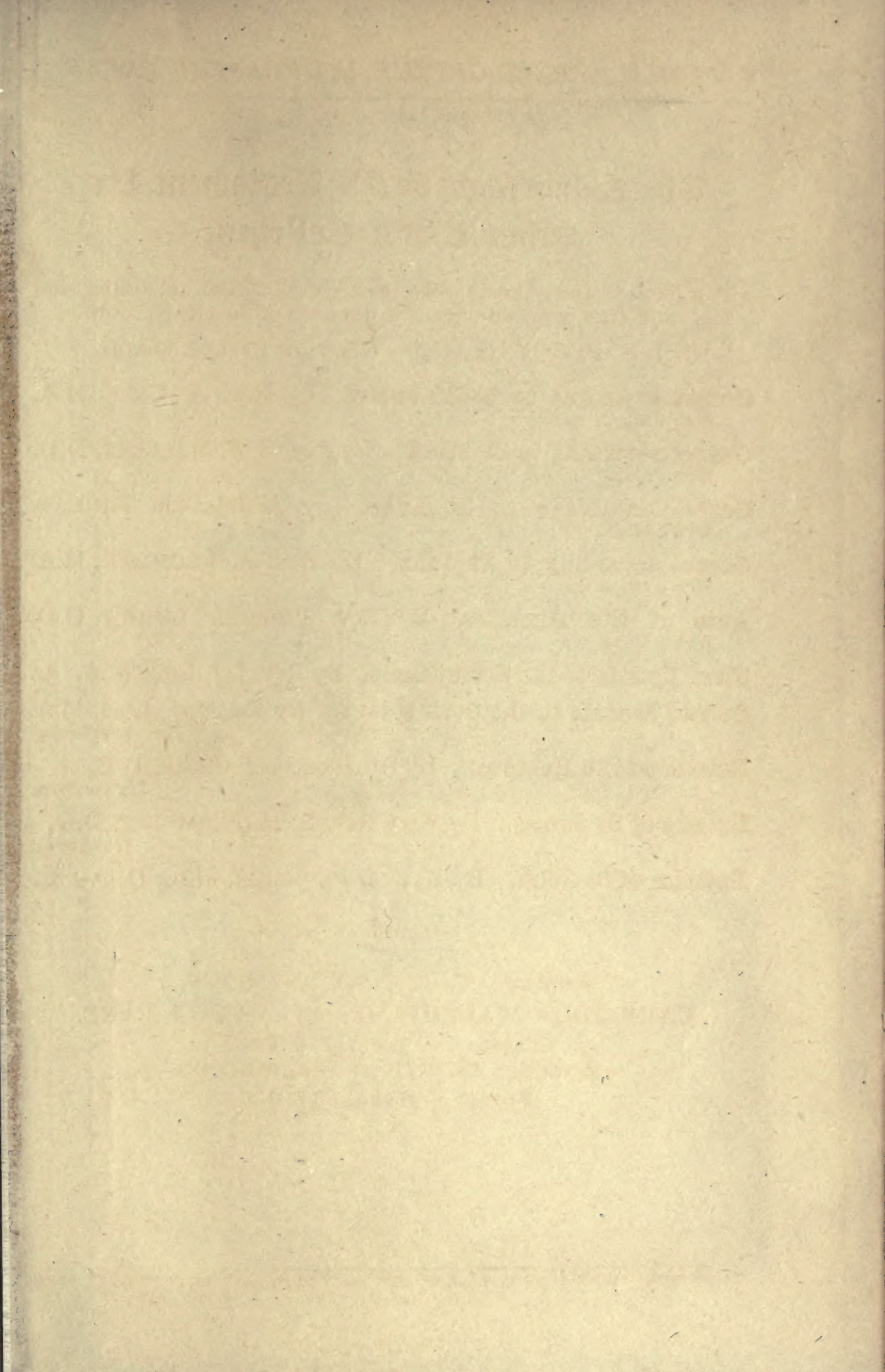
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